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The Babylonian
EPIC OF CREATION

Enūma eliš

The Babylonian
EPIC OF CREATION

Restored from

the recently recovered Tablets of Assur

Transcription

Translation & Commentary

by

S. LANGDON, M.A.

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P R E F A C E

IN the preparation of this edition of the Babylonian Epic of Creation I have consulted the original tablets in the British Museum upon all doubtful passages. For the opportunity of studying these texts I am grateful to the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, SIR ERNEST BUDGE, D.Litt., who has never failed to assist my work upon Sumerian and Babylonian Religion. I am also indebted to the late L. W. KING, Litt.D., for collating passages in the earlier stages of my studies upon the tablets. The REV. S. A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., Dean of Bexley Hall, Gambier, U.S.A., assisted me materially by copying out the transcription of a large part of the text and by verifying many references. For his labours in thus relieving me I am grateful. In the final stages of my work I came upon two unpublished tablets, K. 9188 and Rm. 275, in the British Museum, which relate to the myth of the Death and Resurrection of Bêl. SIR ERNEST BUDGE kindly permitted me to copy and publish these also. MR. C. J. GADD, M.A., Assistant in the Assyrian Department, assisted me much by collations of doubtful passages.

OXFORD,
April 20, 1923.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ASKT. Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte, by PAUL HAUPT.
- ATU. Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen, edited by BRUNO MEISSNER.
- BA. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie.*
- Bab. *Babylonica.*
- Bg.-Keui, Bogh.-Keui. *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.*
- BL. *Babylonian Liturgies*, by S. LANGDON.
- Boissier, DA. *Documents Assyriens*, by ALFRED BOISSIER.
- Chicago Syllabary. Published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. 33.
- Craig, RT. *Religious Texts*, by JAMES A. CRAIG.
- CT. *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum*. Copied by Pinches, King, Thompson, Handcock, S. Smith, and Gadd.
- Dél. Per. *Délégation en Perse*. Texts edited chiefly by V. SCHEIL.
- Dhorme, Choix. *Choix de Textes religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, by PAUL DHORME. Published in MVAG. 1918, Parts 1 and 2.
- Ebeling, Quellen. *Quellen zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, by E. EBELING.
- For.; Winckler Forschungen. *Altorientalische Forschungen*, by HUGO WINCKLER.
- H.B. *Handbuch zur Babylonischen Astronomie*, by ERNEST WEIDNER.
- H.W. *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, by FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH.
- JRAS. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
- JSOR. *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research.*
- KAR. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, by ERICH EBELING.
- KAT^s. *Keilschrift und Altes Testament*, by HUGO WINCKLER and HEINRICH ZIMMERN.
- KAV. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, by OTTO SCHROEDER.
- KB. *Keilinschrifliche Bibliothek.*
- King, Creat. *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, by L. W. KING.
- KL. *Altsumerische Kultlieder*, by HEINRICH ZIMMERN.
- Klauber, PRT. *Politisch-religiöse Texte*, by ERNEST KLAUBER.

- KTA. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, by LEOPOLD MESSERSCHMIDT.
- Legrain, Ur. *Temps des Rois d'Ur*, by LEON LEGRAIN.
- LIH. *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, by L. W. KING.
- LSS. *Leipziger Semitistische Studien*.
- Meissner, Suppl. *Supplement zu den Assyrischen Wörterbüchern*, by BRUNO MEISSNER.
- MVAG. *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*.
- Nies, HRET. *Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts and Antiquities*, by J. B. NIES and C. E. KEISER.
- OLZ. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.
- Paradis. *Poème du Paradis*, by S. LANGDON.
- PBS. *Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia*.
- PSBA. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.
- R or Raw., R I, R II, R III, R IV, R V. *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, founded by MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, copied by GEORGE SMITH, EDWIN NORRIS, and T. G. PINCHES.
- RA. *Revue d'Assyriologie*.
- REC. *Recherches sur l'Écriture cunéiforme*, by FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN.
- SAI. *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme*, by BRUNO MEISSNER.
- SAK. *Sumerisch-akkädische Königsinschriften*, by F. THUREAU-DANGIN.
- SBH. *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, by GEORGE REISNER.
- SBP. *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, by S. LANGDON.
- Scheil, Esagil. *Esagil ou le Temple de Bél-Marduk*, by V. SCHEIL.
- Shurpu. *Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu*, by H. ZIMMERN.
- Streck, Assurb. *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige*, by M. STRECK.
- Sum. Gr. *A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy*, by S. LANGDON.
- Thompson, Reports. *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, by R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.
- VAB. *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*.
- Virolleaud, Astrol. *L'Astrologie chaldéenne*, Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, Adad, with *Supplément* and *Second Supplément*, by CHAS. VIROLLEAUD.
- ZA. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.
- ZDMG. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.
- Zimmern, Rt. *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger*, by H. ZIMMERN.

INTRODUCTION

IN 1902 the late DR. L. W. KING published the most complete edition of the Babylonian Epic of Creation which the available sources permitted him to make. The new texts which he discovered in the recent acquisitions of the British Museum nearly doubled the material at the disposal of earlier editors. The sources which MR. GEORGE SMITH utilized for the first publication of this Epic were all from the Library of Ašurbanipal, discovered at Nineveh, and this means, of course, that they were copies of the southern or Babylonian original. GEORGE SMITH's memorable book appeared in five editions under the title *The Chaldean Genesis*; the last edition is dated in the year 1876. New fragments of the Epic were gradually added to the Museum's collections, and those which had been identified in 1901 were collected and published by DR. KING in volume xiii of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*. Perhaps the most interesting fact which appeared from this new textual edition was the existence of numerous late Babylonian tablets. There could be no doubt, upon the evidence of the colophons of the Ninevite edition, that the Epic originated in the south. But there is no information at all concerning the temple libraries which Ašurbanipal's scribes consulted, or where they made their copies. One of the Ninevite texts (K. 292) seems to have been copied at the old Assyrian capitol Aššur, where a considerable portion of the Epic has been recovered and here utilized. But there can be no question concerning the origin of most of the texts in the

Ašurbanipal edition. It was clearly taken directly from the authentic Babylonian copy. This is extremely important, since the scribes of the older Assyrian period at Aššur deliberately suppressed the name of the Babylonian god Marduk and replaced him by Anšar (Ašur), the national deity of Assyria. This violent racial treatment of a famous and ancient poem is fortunately not consistently carried out, and the numerous tablets recovered from the library at Aššur frequently allow the name *Marduk* to stand. The present text of Book VI, which is almost entirely derived from an Aššur text, has not been re-edited at all.

The numerous Neo-Babylonian tablets published in CT. xiii and in L. W. KING'S *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. ii, probably come in part from Sippar or Agade (Der?). At any rate a colophon of a Babylonian copy made in the twenty-seventh year of Darius states that the tablet was copied from a tablet in Babylon. See the second colophon of Book I. The valuable Neo-Babylonian tablet Bu. 82-9-18, 3737, now No. 93016, which carries so much of the interesting Fourth Book, has a colophon which indicates that a pious scribe copied it and placed it in the temple Ezida (at Barsippa). He gives no information concerning the place where he copied it. The colophons of all the Aššur copies are broken away with the exception of the copy of Book VI, but of this colophon few signs remain. Although direct evidence fails entirely in the published texts, there can be no hesitation concerning the temple library, which possessed the *editio princeps*. All copies in the south and north were ultimately derived from the copies of the library of Esagila, the temple of Marduk in Babylon. Although my edition is based upon copies found in many centres of Babylonia and Assyria, the scholar accustomed to dealing with the oftentimes hopelessly corrupt texts of

Greek, Latin, and Hebrew literature, will be astonished at the faithful transmission of the Babylonian text. In fact the notes, which are heavily charged with variants, almost invariably convey the same text with different methods of phonetic spelling and choice of signs which represent the same sound. This observation applies to Cuneiform texts in general. It is set forth here because the non-assyriological public do not yet fully appreciate the trustworthy nature of the Cuneiform texts and their great superiority in this respect over the Hebrew, Egyptian, and Classical texts.

In the interim between the publications of GEORGE SMITH and L. W. KING, various scholars published editions of the Epic of Creation. SAYCE, in the *Records of the Past*, vol. i, 122–51 (1888), gave a translation of such tablets as were known to him, including the then newly recovered tablet (93016) of Book IV. ZIMMERN, in GUNKEL's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, contributed an extremely penetrating translation (1895), which was soon followed by DELITZSCH's edition in transcription and translation, *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos in Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1896. P. JENSEN had already published a similar technical edition of the most important tablets at that stage of the text in his *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* (1890); a much better edition appeared (1900) by JENSEN in his *Mythen und Epen*, pp. 1–39, of which KING made use for his monumental work in 1902. After KING's edition, which contributed so much new material and restored so many lacunae, the next serious labour bestowed upon the philological and religious interpretation of the Epic is PÈRE DHORME's edition in his *Choix de Textes religieux*, 2–81 (1907). A good many popular editions have been published on the basis of KING and DHORME's editions, among which may be mentioned UNGNAD'S translation

in GRESMANN's *Texte und Bilder* (1909), pp. 1-25, which is obviously based upon an independent study of the text, and R. W. ROGER's transcription and translation in *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (1912), 1-44, and H. WINCKLER's translation in his *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*.

Such was the condition of the text between 1901 and 1919 when DR. ERICH EBELING began the publication of the religious texts discovered by the German excavators at Aššur, the old capitol of Assyria, marked by the modern mound *Kalat Sherghât*, on the Tigris, about fifty miles south of Nineveh. The capitol of Assyria was not transferred to Nineveh until the period of Ašurnaširpal I in the twelfth century; the literary texts of the old capitol probably date from about the twelfth-tenth centuries; at any rate the copies of the Epic of Creation recovered there may be dated in that period.¹ These were undoubtedly copied from the Babylonian originals in the temple archives of the city of Babylon itself. The colophons of the Aššur texts, so far as recovered, scarcely name any other southern city as the source of their originals. See KAR. 70, 144, 150. Two tablets, KAR. 15, 16, were copied at Nippur and Babylon, while others were described simply as copies from the 'Land of Accad'.

The new Aššur texts contribute materially to the restoration of Book I and contain all of the lost Book VI. Unfortunately the astronomical poem, contained in Book V, receives no aid from Aššur. It is now the

¹ See the colophon of KAR. no. 14, *limu* of Ašur-ahī-iddina, certainly before 911 B.C., and KAR. 220, *limu* of Šunu-ķardu, found also at the end of the old Assyrian letter, SCHROEDER, KAV. 109. SCHROEDER, OLZ. 1921, 21, places the beginning of the recently recovered *limu* lists in the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (13th century), and EBELING's publication contains prayers of this king, KAR. 128-9.

only incomplete portion of the seven books. Book V is really a prototype of the *Astronomica* of Manilius, and for that reason of greater interest to Classical scholars than any other book of the Epic. At present only fragments of copies of the Ašurbanipal edition have been recovered for this astronomical portion of the poem. With the material previously collected by KING and the new tablets from Aššur at his disposal, EBELING published an edition of the entire Epic in MEISSNER'S *Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. ii, part 4, under the title *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsslied* (1921). This edition contains variants and restorations from several new fragments discovered in the collections of the Berlin Museum after the *editio princeps* in EBELING'S *Religiöse Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (abbreviated KAR), parts 1-4, had appeared. This edition is lithographed from the editor's own handwriting, and is so minutely written in places that its usefulness is seriously affected. But circumstances impose great hardship upon scholarship everywhere in post-war days, especially in Germany. Assyriologists in all lands must be grateful to EBELING for his brave endeavour to publish the results of his studies even in this undesirable form. His copies in the *editio princeps* are admirable.

As usual ZIMMERN published a very penetrating article on the First Book immediately after the texts appeared. His study, which is cited frequently in my edition, appeared in vol. i of *Orientalische Studien Fritz Hommel . . . gewidmet*, under the title *Marduks (Ellils, Aššurs) Geburt im babylonischen Weltschöpfungseplos*, pp. 213-25. The title of ZIMMERN'S article in itself reveals the fact that he had discovered the substitution of Ašur for Marduk in the Assyrian redaction. A translation of the parts of the Epic directly affected by the new Aššur texts, accompanied by a transcription, that is Books I

and VI, was made by LUCKENBILL in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. 38, 12–31.

The Epic was undoubtedly written in the period of the First Babylonian Dynasty, 2225–1926. Although no tablets of the poem have been found from that time, the inscription of Agum-kakrime, seventh king of the Cassite Dynasty, which followed immediately upon the First Dynasty, proves its existence in his time (17th century). In a long inscription, of which a nearly complete copy has been found at Nineveh,¹ this king writes of his restoration of the statues of Marduk and Zarpanit, his consort, which had been plundered and carried away to the ‘far land, the land Hani’. The inscription describes in great detail the works of art with which Agum-kakrime adorned the statues and sanctuaries of these deities. The influence of the Epic of Creation is clearly revealed in the copper panels of the doors of the holy chambers. Upon these were represented the monsters of Chaos which Marduk subdued in his combat with Tiamat. The list is almost identical with that of the Epic. On the doors of these chapels, restored by Agum-kakrime, the craftsmen placed the Viper (*bašmū*), Lahmus, the Fish-ram (*kusarikku*), the Great Lion (*ugallum*), the Gruesome Hound (*uridimmu*), the Fish-man (*kulili*), the Goat-fish (*suhumašū*), in all seven monsters which, with one exception, are identical with passages of the Epic of Creation.²

Scepticism concerning the view here taken may be based upon the suggestion that these monsters were common possession of Babylonian mythology, and may have been derived from sources other than the Epic. But the order in the two lists is so similar, and their connexion with Marduk in the chapel of Esagila so

¹ V Raw. 33; translated by JENSEN, KB. iii 134–53.

² Book I 140–3; II 27–9; III 31–3, 89–91.

characteristic, that the probability of borrowing directly from the Epic is almost a certainty. A close parallel exists in the bronze gates which Senecherib caused to be made for the *Bit akit šêri*, 'House of the New Year's Festival of the Plain'.¹ Here the bronze plates of the gate were cast with the scene of *Ašur*'s battle with Tiamat, and no interpreter has denied the influence of the Epic of Creation as it was told in Assyria. This scene represented the god *Ašur* riding into battle against Tiamat, armed with the 'cyclone', preceded and followed by various gods of the pantheon. The names of Tiamat's monsters are not given here.

The reaction of the Epic upon art in all periods after its composition, about the twenty-second century, is undeniable. The problem here is chronological, and from this point of view the reliefs of Agum-kakrime are important. They constitute at present the only direct evidence of the existence of this great poem before the actual texts which contain the legend. There is in the literature of the First Dynasty no reference to the Epic at all. But an earlier Sumerian poem of a similar kind existed, which inspired the Semitic poem, a problem which remains to be examined. The Epic originally contained only six books. The hymn to the names of Marduk, which now forms Book VII, must have existed as an independent poem; it was finally attached to the Epic in the late period, but it disagrees with the poem itself at many points. For direct evidence of its existence as a separate hymn, and probably a bilingual hymn on the names of Marduk, see the note on VII 125. The arrangement of the poem in six books was probably taken from the rules of liturgical

¹ K. 1356, published by MEISSNER and ROST in *Die Bauinschriften Senecheribs*, Pl. 16, and translated pp. 98–103. A revised version is given by ZIMMERN in *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrsfest*¹, 143–8.

compositions. When the Babylonians edited the canonical Sumerian liturgies for their own use and provided the Sumerian text with an interlinear Semitic version, the material was almost invariably distributed over six tablets.¹

Further discussion of many problems connected with the Epic of Creation must be preceded by an analysis of its contents.

(1) Bk. I 1-20. In the beginning only Apsû the fresh water ocean and Tiamat the salt ocean existed. They were mingled in one. From the union of the male Apsû and the dragon of Chaos, Tiamat, the pair Lahmu and Lahamu were engendered, and after many ages Anšar and Kišar came into being. These two deities are the first of the gods of order, and they engendered Anu the heaven god and Ea the water god.²

(2) Bk. I 21-8. The gods, descended from Lahmu and Lahamu, rebelled against the primaeval water deities.

(3) Bk. I 29-54. Apsû and Mummu went to Tiamat and the husband declared his wish to destroy the gods. Tiamat, enraged, seeks advice from Mummu, who urged Apsû to execute his plan.

(4) Bk. I 55-78. They announced to the gods this decision, and they wept at their fate. But Ea bewitched Apsû and Mummu with a curse, and slew them. He made Apsû his abode.

(5) Bk. I 79-105. The birth of Marduk son of Ea, or of Ašur son of Lahmu. Description of the protagonist.

¹ See the writer's *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, p. xii.

² Enlil of the older Sumerian myth is completely suppressed in the Semitic version. The earth god Enlil and his son Ninurta were replaced by Ea and his son Marduk.

(6) Bk. I 106-27. One of Tiamat's attendants reports the death of Apsû and Mummu to her. He urges her to revenge her husband, and create monsters to help in the combat.

(7) Bk. I 128-61. Description of the eleven monsters; nine are named; Tiamat and her second husband make up the eleven. Kingu is exalted over the powers of Chaos and receives the tablets of fates.

(8) Bk. II 1-14. Tiamat prepares for battle; Ea discovers the plot, and reports to Anšar. [Lines 11-14 form an introduction to the repetition in § 9.]

(9) Bk. II 15-48. Ea repeats to Anšar the description of the monsters in (7).

(10) Bk. II 49-57. Anšar is terrified, and appeals to Ea to use his curse against Tiamat, as he had done against Apsû.

(11). Bk. II 58-70. Break in the text. Ea went up against Tiamat, but fled and reported his defeat to Anšar.

(12). Bk. II 71-85. Anšar in terror appeals unto Anu; he obeys his fathers and goes up to meet Tiamat, but likewise retreats in terror.

(13). Bk. II 86-101. Anšar despairs and the gods sit about him in tears. But he remembers the prowess of Marduk, and Ea summoned his son into the presence of Anšar.

(14) Bk. II 102-19. In the presence of Marduk Anšar's confidence revived. Marduk promises to fight Tiamat. Anšar foretells his victory.

(15) Bk. II 120-9. Marduk demands promotion to the rank of a great god as a reward for his bravery in the event of his victory.

(16) Bk. III 1-12. Anšar sends his messenger to Lahmu to summon all the gods (the Igigi and Anunnaki) to an assembly.

(17) Bk. III 13-14. He charges Gaga to repeat to Lahmu the message which Ea had made to him concerning the preparations of Tiamat to destroy the gods.

(18) Bk. III 15-52. Anšar repeats to Gaga the speech of Ea = II 11-48.

(19) Bk. III 53-7. He further charges Gaga to tell Lahmu and the gods how Ea and Anu had been defeated, and how Marduk had come forward to rescue them.

(20) Bk. III 58-64. Anšar repeats to Gaga the demand of Marduk that the gods assemble and raise him to the rank of a god = Bk. II 123-9.

(21) Bk. III 65-6. He charges Gaga to tell the gods to assemble quickly.

(22) Bk. III 67-70. Gaga hastens from the presence of Anšar and goes to Lahmu and the gods.

(23) Bk. III 71-124. Gaga repeats the various sections of Anšar's message = §§ 17-22; i. e. lines 71-124 = Bk. III 13-66 (fifty-four lines repeated).

(24) Bk. III 125-38. The gods now hear for the first time that Tiamat had prepared to destroy them. They wailed bitterly, and departed to assemble before Anšar in the Hall of Fates. They sat down to banquet and decreed the fate of Marduk.

(25) Bk. IV 1-18. They founded a chamber for Marduk in the Hall of Fates (Ubšukkina), and he is thus added to the sacred assembly of the highest gods. He receives the power to declare fates and work miracles, and they praise his power.

(26) Bk. IV 19-26. His power to work miracles is tested by the miracle of the garment.

(27) Bk. IV 27-33. The gods saw how Marduk had now received the mystic attributes of a great divinity by possessing the 'word of fate'. He receives the sceptre and weapons of battle.

They charge him to go up against Tiamat.

- (28) Bk. IV 34-58. Description of Marduk's weapons.
- (29) Bk. IV 59-70. He proceeds against Tiamat and her host, and the gods went with him (as in the inscription of Senecherib which described the scene of Anšar's victory on the gate of a temple).
- (30) Bk. IV 71-134. Defeat of Tiamat; the binding of Kingu and the monsters.¹ Tiamat is slain.
- (31) Bk. IV 135-46. Marduk divides the body of Tiamat and constructs heaven, earth, and the nether sea, and fixes the abode of the three gods of the trinity.
- (32) Bk. V. Astronomical poem on the movements of the planets in the ecliptic, the motions of the moon, and the positions of the signs of the zodiac as constructed by Marduk. Only twenty-five lines of the astronomical section are preserved. The book concludes with a song of praise by the gods concerning the firmament made by Marduk.
- (33) Bk VI 1-28. The creation of man. Marduk assembles the gods and orders Kingu to be brought before Ea and slain. Ea creates man from the blood of Kingu. Man was created to honour the gods in worship.
- (34) Bk. VI 29-35. Marduk divides the gods into two groups, the Igigi or 600 gods of the upper world and the heavens, and the Anunnaki or fifty gods of the lower world.
- (35) Bk. VI 36-41. In gratitude the gods decide to build a great shrine on earth for Marduk, where they may all assemble (on New Year's festival to declare fates).
- (36) Bk. VI 42-55. Marduk rejoices and decides to build Babylon and its temple Esagila. The gods build the city and its great temple for Marduk.

¹ Here also the gods assist in the battle with the giants, iv 92.

They construct chapels in Esagila for themselves and sit down to a great feast in Marduk's temple.

(37) Bk. VI 56-64. They arrange the laws of the universe and divide power among themselves. Marduk lays down his weapons before them.

(38) Bk. VI 65-8. Anu gives names to Marduk's bow and fixes it in heaven as *Canis Major*.

(39) Bk. VI 69-138. (Here several lines missing.) Anu the heaven god defines the powers of Marduk; he shall be ruler of mankind, and charged with the upkeep of temples and sacrifices. Babylon is a pattern of the constellation Cetus and Aries. The gods give Marduk the Fifty Names. A hymn by the gods on a few of Marduk's titles.

(40) Bk. VI 139-44. The gods rejoiced at the powers bestowed upon Marduk. They sat in the assembly mentioning his names.

End of the original poem which closes with the assembly of the gods in Babylon.

(41) Bk. VII. An independent bilingual hymn on the names of Marduk, later attached to the Epic in a Semitic version.

The Epic, therefore, closed with a scene based upon the Babylonian celebration of the New Year's festival, which was held during the first eleven days of Nisan or at the spring equinox, when the gods of all Babylonia came up to Babylon in their sacred boats to assemble in the Hall of Fates (*Ubšukkina*) in Esagila. The poem is in reality a ritualistic creation based upon an older Sumerian myth. Two leading problems present themselves, as the contents of this Epic now lie almost entirely revealed before us. In the first place, what was the nature of the old Sumerian myth, and secondly, what was the meaning of the New Year festival which inspired the poem?

In Book IV 49, in the passage which describes Marduk's weapons (see § 28 of the analysis), one of his weapons is called the 'Cyclone'. From the note on this passage it is apparent that the epithet was originally applied to the Sumerian arm *šarur*, which belonged to Ninurta, the old Sumerian war-god and son of the earth-god Enlil of Nippur. Now a Sumerian liturgy to Ninurta, called *gud nim kurra* or 'Exalted hero of the world', of which the first two tablets have been recovered and edited in my *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 224-37, clearly refers to a Sumerian myth in which this god defeated the dragons of Chaos. At the beginning of tablet II the liturgy refers to some command given to Ninurta by Anu and Enlil. The son of Enlil, who is here identified with Ningirsu of Lagash, is thus described:

' He who launches the "Cyclone", to this word gave heed.

He uttered a loud cry, to the word he gave heed.
To the Viper¹ advancing without a lord of order,
he gave heed.'

Here follow references to Ninurta's net² and his riding up to battle,³ upon which the parallel passages in the Epic are obviously based. The liturgy then continues:

' Great champion whose word bringeth joy, O lord,
advance, ride forth.

May great Anu behold thee, O lord, advance, ride
forth.

Thou that holdest in leash the god Zû, O lord,
advance, ride forth.

¹ *ušum-gal* = *bašmu*. My reading SBP. 232, 11, *BUR* (*ušum*) should be preceded by *GAL*. The *bašmu* is the first mentioned of the dragons of Tiamat, Book IV 140, and identified with Hydra. In the Sumerian myth *ušumgal* is equivalent to Tiamat.

² Cf. IV 44.

³ Cf. IV 50.

O lord establish thou thy foundations, yea thou alone over thy foes, O lord.
 Before thee thy feast is made glorious, advance, ride forth.'

The liturgical style of this passage does not obscure the mythological source if we remember that the text was written for musical recital. The word of Ninurta rejoices the gods, precisely as in the parallel passage of the Epic Marduk's words restore their confidence, Bk. II 104-10. The feast prepared for Ninurta recalls the feast of the gods in the hall of Anšar, when they elevated Marduk to the rank of a god,¹ or more appropriately the feast mentioned in Book VI 54, after the victory. In the Sumerian myth the god *Zû* was one of the giants subdued by Ninurta, an aspect of the tale which does not appear in the Epic. But a hymn to Marduk contains a passage obviously based upon the Epic of Creation, and here he is called the *māhiṣ muhhi ilu Zi-e*, 'smiter of the skull of the god *Zû*', followed by the names of other monsters mentioned also in the Epic.² Moreover, a commentary on the rituals of the New Year's festival, in which the various features of the ritual are mystically interpreted, mentions *ilu Zû* and *ilu Asakku*, whom the gods bound in their midst.³ A similar commentary which explains the occult significance of the rituals of the New Year celebration at Aššur has been recovered.⁴ Here the god Ašur is said to have sent Ninurta to conquer the god *Zû*. The evidence

¹ See § 24 of the analysis.

² CRAIG, RT. 29, 15. *Zû* occurs also in another list of these monsters, CRAIG, RT. 56, 6, under his ordinary Sumerian title *ilu Im-dugud-(gu)*.

³ CT. 15, 44, 14. The meaning of this text was discovered by ZIMMERN, *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrsfest*¹, 135.

⁴ Published by EBELING, KAR. 143, and restored from a duplicate by ZIMMERN, in his edition of this text, *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrsfest*², pp. 14-21. See also RM. 275.

for the existence of an older Sumerian version in which Ninurta was the protagonist of the gods is, therefore, convincing.¹ Although no Sumerian text which contains

¹ The place of the mysterious bird-god *Zū*, the lion-headed emblem of Susa and Sumer, in Sumerian mythology is obscure. From the evidence adduced in the text above this mythical monster figured in the Sumerian and Semitic Epic of Creation as a monster in the host of Tiamat, and as a constellation he was identified with Pegasus, the winged horse, ZIMMERN, KAT.³ 502, after JENSEN, but KUGLER, *Sternkunde, Ergänzungen*, 59, says that the *kakkab Sīsu* (= ^d*Im-dugud-ǵu* = *ilu Zū*, VR. 46 a 20), or 'Horse star', is only the fore-part of Pegasus or Equuleus. Scholars agree in explaining the location of this star as due to the identification of the 'Storm-bird' *Zū* with the winter sun, for this constellation rises heliacally in the stormy season. The Sumerian ideogram for *ilu Zū* means the storm-bird, and he is represented on a boundary-stone, VR. 57, by the head of a horse, but without wings. In the omen, BOISSIER, DA. 207, 28, ^d*Im-dugud-ǵu* follows ^d*Galu-ǵus-a*, 'Raging man', and the variant, PSBA. 1914, 247, 76 f. has for the former *ilu Zi-i*, and for the latter *sīsu*, horse. It is, therefore, certain that the mythical storm-bird was associated, in astronomy at least, with the winged horse Pegasus. Like the other monsters of Chaos subdued by Marduk, *Zū* was identified with a constellation.

A Semitic poem of considerable length, a portion of which is preserved in bilingual form, tells how the god Lugalbanda, a cognate type of Ninurta, god of the spring sun, subdued the 'Storm-bird' *Zū* after Ramman (the thunder god), Ishtar (the war goddess), and the god BARA, i.e. Šara, god of Umma, had refused to pursue this monster. The legend runs that *Zū* stole the tablets of fate from Enlil, and Enlil's son Lugalbanda (= Ninurta) recovered them. We now know from the restoration of Book IV of the Epic of Creation that both Anu and Ea fled before Tiamat. The two myths present great similarity at this point, and the similarity supports the conjecture that Enlil and Ninurta had much the same relation to Tiamat in the old Sumerian myth. For the legend of *Zū* see JENSEN, KB. vi 46-57. This legend is continued on a bilingual fragment, CT. 15, 43, where *Zū* slays a wild ox in *Hašur*, 'the unknown land'. This Semitic version of *Zū* is clearly based upon the Sumerian poem published by POEBEL, PBS. v, no. 16, which, like the fragment in CT. 15, 43, mentions ^d*Im-dugud-(ǵu)-dē*, the wild ox (*am*) and the nest *ú-ki-sig-ga* of *Zū*, as well as ^d*Lugal-banda*.

A mythological scene which frequently occurs on Assyrian bas-reliefs represents Marduk-Ašur in pursuit of a dragon. The god has four wings and holds in his right and left hands the conventional symbol of

the myth of Ninurta's combat with Tiamat has been found, it is certain that some similar tale existed. In this myth Enlil sent his son into the combat, and a variant on Book II 5 actually has *iluEn[lil]* for Ea, father of Marduk, who is sent for by his father (Ea) to rescue the gods in the Semitic Epic. It may of course be possible that the old myth of Ninurta and the storm-bird Zû gave the Semitic poets their inspiration for the myth of Marduk and Tiamat, and that is very probable. The myth of Ninurta or Lugalbanda and Zû is based upon the conflict between the spring sun and demons of the winter period of storms and darkness. After Lugalbanda-Ninurta-Ningirsu, son of Enlil, conquers the Storm-bird Zû, the monster became the symbol of this god as a lion-headed eagle with deployed wings.

At any rate the Epic of Creation is also a solar myth and intimately connected with the spring sun, whose return from the region of darkness was celebrated by a long festival at the beginning of the year. In this New Year's festival of Nisan, which at least in the late period extended over the first eleven days of the New Year, the Epic of Creation was an important factor. For the festival, as it was celebrated from the sixth century B.C. until the end of Babylonian civilization, that is as late as the third century and perhaps even later, we possess the authoritative texts for the ceremonies of the second, third, fourth, and fifth days of Nisan.¹ The

the thunder-bolt. The dragon is a male monster, a winged lion with scaly body and bird talons. For this reason the identification of the dragon with Zû rather than with Tiamat commands favour. For reproductions of this scene see *Assyrian Sculptures*, KLEINMANN, Pl. 83-4 and Pl. 85-6; WARD, *Seal Cylinders*, pp. 197 ff. There is an earlier representation of this scene on a seal, WARD, no. 580, that represents Marduk in combat with a winged horse, which is certainly Zû.

¹ These texts are put together and edited by F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels Accadiens*, 127-46.

ceremony here described applies, of course, only to the festival as it was observed at Babylon, the capital, and home of the Marduk cult. The directions for the first day are not recovered. On the second day, two hours before sunrise, the high priest must rise and bathe, attire himself in linen, and enter the sanctuary of Bêl (Marduk). He then recites a hymn in which Marduk's victory over the host of Tiamat and the blessings conferred upon the gods are mentioned.¹ This hymn is to be a mystery, not to be said by any one save the high priest, who must be alone in the sanctuary.

Then he opened the doors and the priests and psalmists enter before Bêl and perform certain ordinary rituals. After another rubric which refers to the 'crown of Anu', the high priest (?) sings a Semitic hymn to Bêl-Marduk. Here the 'curse' of Marduk is referred to and an irrevocable decree, but it is not clear whether the 'curse' refers to a legend that Marduk employed a malediction in his combat with Tiamat, or to a judgement passed on the wicked gods. Book VI 131 does mention

¹ This hymn, which is partly bilingual, contains lines which obviously refer to the Epic of Creation. The Semitic version is probably original. With line 14 cf. Book VI 140 and VII 68. Line 22 refers to Marduk having *burned* the mighty ones, not to a 'binding' of the monsters as in the Epic. In fact one of the commentaries on the ritual refers to the 'burning of Kingu', whereas the Epic, IV 119, states that Kingu was bound, and Book VI 25-6 also has it that Kingu was brought bound before Ea and slain. The repeated description of Marduk as the Fire-god Gibil in the Epic does in fact indicate another tradition concerning the destruction of the wicked gods. The view adhered to in the Epic is that Marduk had mercy upon the bound gods and made them demons of the lower world. The hymn sung by the priest after speaking of the burning of the mighty ones goes on to say that 'he has mercy upon them'. These disparate traditions are confused here, but the confusion did not disturb the poets and mystagogues in the least. For the burning of Kingu see ZIMMERN, *Neujahrsfest*¹, 131, 9, and note 2, where he compares the burning of the animal in Daniel 7 and in the Apocalypse of John 20.

the curse as one of the weapons employed by Marduk against Tiamat, and see also Book VII 11 with note. This hymn is only partially preserved, and the remaining directions for the second day are lost.

Early on the morning of the third day the high priest must rise and bathe and say a prayer (secretly before Bēl). The text of this prayer or hymn is entirely broken away. He then opens the doors and the priests and psalmists enter to perform the ordinary rituals. Now a metal-worker is summoned three hours after sunrise who makes two statues with precious stones and gold for the ceremony of the sixth day. Then a carpenter is called and given cedar wood and tamarisk, and a silversmith, to whom he gives gold. Each statue must be seven fingers high, one of cedar, one of tamarisk, and adorned with gold and precious stones. One statue holds in his left hand a serpent made of cedar, and lifts his right hand to Nebo in prayer. The other statue holds in his left hand a scorpion, and with his right hand prays to Nebo. They are clad in red garments and their loins are bound with branches of the date palm. They remain in the temple of the god Sakut¹ until the sixth day. The tablet here anticipates the ritual of the sixth day by saying that on that day a sword-bearer shall smite them on the head and burn them in fire before Nebo. The statues apparently refer to two of the monsters bound and burned (') by Marduk, but the meaning of Nebo's presence here is not evident. He as god of wisdom of course came to Babylon from Barsippa for the festival, but he had no rôle in the Epic of Creation, to which these statues obviously refer. They probably represent the *bašmu* (viper) and the *akrab-amelu* (scorpion man) in the Epic. See the list

¹ A solar deity, and form of Ninurta, but also related to Marduk. For a discussion of this deity see my *Babylonian Liturgies*, 120 n. 6.

of the monsters of Chaos in Book I 140-2. Here again the divergent tradition of the burning of these monsters reappears.

On the morning of the fourth day three and one-third hours before sunrise the high priest must rise and bathe; he now comes before Bēl and Bēlit (Marduk and Zarpanit) and recites a prayer to Marduk and one to Zarpanit. Here again certain passages of the Epic are clearly in the mind of the composers.¹ He now comes out from Marduk's sanctuary into the great court, and facing north he recites a hymn known as 'Canal star, Esagila, imitation of heaven and earth'. Dilgan or Cetus (the Canal star) was identified with Babylon, and at this hour of the morning should be rising heliacally at the spring equinox. He blesses Marduk's temple and opens the doors. The priests and psalmists enter and perform the ordinary ceremonies. On the fourth day, after the 'little meal'² at the end of the day, the high priest recited before Marduk the entire Epic of Creation; during this recitation the 'crown of Anu' and the 'throne of Enlil' must be covered. Here again it is Enlil the earth-god and not Ea, father of Marduk, who is in the mind of the celebrant. The older myth probably told of Anu and Enlil's refusal to wage war upon the giants of Chaos, and the covering of their presence is intended to signify their confusion.

On the morning of the fifth day, four hours before sunrise, the high priest must rise and bathe, and put on a linen garment. He enters before Bēl and Bēlit, and recites a prayer to each; both prayers or hymns are in

¹ Line 240, *ēbir šami-e*, see note on IV 141, *šami-e ebīr*; l. 241, *murriš erišti*, cf. VII 1, *šārik mīrišti*.

² *kuttinnu*, 'little'. So THUREAU-DANGIN. See *Rituels Accadiens*, 75, 6 f. and p. 74. 'Meal' refers here to one of the two evening sacrifices (the little sacrifice and the great sacrifice).

Sumerian. These hymns are characterized by astral titles of Marduk and his consort, and by addresses to various planets. In one line the title of the Seventh Book of the Epic is cited. The hymns which inaugurate the ceremonies of the fifth day obviously reflect the thoughts of the astronomical poem in Book V of the Epic, as the hymn for the fourth day was more or less based upon Book IV of the Epic. The high priest now opens the doors of Bél's sanctuary and admits the priests and psalmists to perform the ordinary rituals.¹ Two hours after sunrise the high priest, after the morning meals of Bél and Bélit are finished, summons a priest of magic to purify the temple. The kettle-drum is sounded, torch and censer are brought to the middle of the temple, but the priest of magic must not enter the sanctuary of Bél and Bélit. The magician then enters the sanctuary of Nebo (who has not yet arrived from Barsippa) and purifies it. In this ceremony a sword-bearer slays a sheep which the magician employs in the purificatory ceremony. The cadaver and head of the sheep are then cast into the river, the magician and sword-bearer standing with face to the west. Both of these participants in the rite of purgation of Nebo's sanctuary must then go out into the plain and not return as long as Nebo remains in the temple for the festival, that is from the fifth to the twelfth days of Nisan.

At three and one-third hours after sunrise the high priest, who is forbidden to see any of this ritual of purgation, issues from E-umuš-a, the sanctuary of Bél, and summons

¹ The ritual of the psalmists probably consisted in singing one of the long Sumerian liturgies assigned to the day in question. It appears from these rubrics that the liturgy put down for each day was sung in the early morning. Translations of a large number of these daily liturgies will be found in my *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms, Babylonian Liturgies*, and in my two volumes of PBS. x, nos. 2 and 4. See the article 'Prayer' in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

craftsmen. The golden canopy of Marduk (to be held over his statue when he departs from E-umuš-a) they bring out from Bēl's treasury and then the entire sanctuary of Nebo is veiled.¹ The sanctuary of Nebo (Ezida) in this solar ritual represents the dark season of the year or the period when the nights are longer than the days. Bēl, the rising spring sun, is about to issue from his sanctuary at the spring equinox. The high priest and the artisans now sing a hymn on the purification of the temple. The artisans then leave the temple. Later in the day the high priest re-enters Bēl's sanctuary and prepares the table of Bēl and Bēlit with choice food, golden vessels, and a censer. He now recites a prayer and tells Bēl that he is about to go to the house of the New Year festival (*akītu*) which stood outside the city. The artisans now remove the table and carry it to Nebo's sanctuary; this god arrives presently from Barsippa, in his ship *Iddahedu*. The king now arrives, washes his hands, and is brought into the temple,² but

¹ The meaning of the veiling of Anu and Enlil on the fourth day sacred to the memory of Marduk's combat with the giants is intelligible, see p. 23, but why Nebo's sanctuary should be veiled is not at all comprehensible. According to the commentary on a ritual published in ZA. vi 241 by STRASSMAIER and partially translated in my PBS. x 330, so far as it concerns the myth of the summer and winter solstices, Ezida, or the temple of Nebo, represents the half of the year when the sun is south of the equator, or the period of night.

² The king was compelled to be present at this festival, as we know from the *Religious Chronicle* of the thirteenth century, KING, *Chronicles*, ii 74, where his absence on the fifth day is recorded as an extraordinary event; and the *Nabonidus Chronicle*, KB. iii 130, 10, says that in Nisan Nabonidus the king in his ninth year came not to Babylon for the *akītu*, and Bēl went not out. Nebuchadnezzar praises himself for bringing great sacrifices before Marduk and Nebo at this festival, VAB. iv 95, 7-17. Nabonidus also boasts of having celebrated the *akītu* of Bēl, *ibid.* 285, 41. According to another passage, *ibid.* 283, ix 3-10, Bēl-Marduk and the gods made the journey to the *akītu*, 'the house of sacrifices on the tenth day'.

apparently not permitted to enter the sanctuary. The high priest takes from him the insignia of royal power, his sceptre, his circle and toothed sickle, which are taken into the presence of Bêl and placed on a seat; he returns, and having smitten the king's cheek he introduces him before Bêl; he pulls the king's ears and causes him to kneel. Here the ritual contains a prayer by the king in which he professes his upright conduct as king. He is for the moment reduced to the rank of a layman. He had received his authority from Bêl and to Bêl it had returned. The sign of his temporary reduction is the smiting of his cheek by a subject. The high priest now speaks to the royal penitent, promising him Bêl's blessing and the augmentation of his sovereign power. The king retires from the chapel of Bêl and the high priest brings him the sceptre, circle, and sickle. He again smites the king's cheek; if the king sheds tears Bêl is well pleased with him; if tears flow not he will lose his throne.

Forty minutes after sunset the high priest makes up a bundle of forty reeds each three cubits (about five feet) long and binds the bundle with a palm branch. A trench is dug in the temple court into which the reed bundle is placed; a white bull is brought before the trench and the king sets fire to the reeds. The king and high priest recite a hymn to the 'Divine bull of Anu', and here the text breaks away.¹

¹ The white bull represents the constellation Taurus, which rose heliacally at the spring equinox when this ceremony began, that is before 1900 B.C., according to FOTHERINGHAM, and the bull thus opened the year in ritual long after the sun had moved into Aries. THUREAU-DANGIN, *ibid.* 146 n. 1, cites a passage from the Georgics of Virgil, which indicates that the Romans also knew the astronomical myth of the white bull who opens the year. Naturally the star Aldebaran was associated with the beginning of spring before 1900 B.C., when the Epic of Creation was written. The Sumerian name of Taurus was 'star of the bull of heaven', often

The authentic rituals for the days 6–11 are unknown. Marduk and the gods assembled in Esagila, probably on the sixth. The procession of all the gods from Esagila to the *akītu* house of the New Year's sacrifices, outside the Ishtar gate to the north of the city, occurred on the tenth, and the sacrifices were made on the last day. This we know from historical references cited above (p. 25 n. 2, p. 26 n. 1). The great assembly of the gods in Ubšukkina to declare fates for the New Year occurred on the eighth before the procession, and on the eleventh after the return to Esagila from the house of sacrifices. This is known from an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar.¹

A fragment² clearly contains the ritual for a later phase of the festival, and begins with the entry of Bēl into the chamber of fates, which occurred apparently on the eighth day. The tablet belongs to one of those Babylonian series which contain the rituals on one set of tablets and the prayers on another set. This fragment contains only the prayers for certain days, and first of all the prayer after the fates are determined on the eighth day (?), which exhorts Bēl and Bēlit, Tašmet and Ishtar to come forth (and proceed to the

called by the Semites *giškakkab Li-e*, 'Star of the tablet (of fates)'. According to KUGLER, *Sternkunde, Ergänzungen*, 229, the rising of the Pleiades in Taurus marked the beginning of the solar mean year in the time of the First Dynasty. In the late period with which we are concerned in this ritual the mean solar year was fixed by the rising of Alpha in Aries, KUGLER, *ibid.* 228. The New Year festival actually kept to the rising of the Pleiades for centuries after the sun had passed from Taurus into Aries, and in the thirteenth century the festival actually occurred in Ajar, KING, *Chronicles*, ii 73, where the sacrifices at the *akītu* occur on the eleventh day (see also JENSEN, KB. vi² 24, 7). The rising of Aries fixed the beginning of the year in the period of Nebuchadnezzar, but the old hymns applicable to the beginning of the year with Taurus remain unchanged.

¹ VAB. iv 127, 54–65.

² K. 9876, in transcription only by ZIMMERN, *Neujahrsfest*¹, 136–43.

house of sacrifice). We next find the gods in the chamber by the bend (*si-lir*) of the river, by which the *akitu* is clearly meant.¹ The hymn to Marduk, here, is in fact a survival of an older stage of the New Year festival, when Enlil of Nippur (with his son Ninurta) was the principal character in the Epic of Creation. It is addressed to 'Enlil in Nippur'. After a long break which brings us near to the end of the ceremonies of the ninth (?) and tenth (?) days, the text begins in the midst of a hymn which suggests to the gods that they now return to their various temples and cities.

So much for authentic ritual of the New Year at Babylon on the 1st-11th of Nisan. A New Year's festival at Erech was celebrated at the beginning of the second half of the year, reckoning by a year based upon the spring equinox. At Erech the religious calendar fixed two New Year festivals, one as at Babylon in Nisan and one in Tešrit, each respectively the survival of old Sumerian spring and autumn calendars.² The double New Year festival survived also at Ur and probably at most Sumerian cities. At Erech it consisted in the procession of Anu from his temple to the house of sacrifice (*akitu*), and at Ur the same ceremony certainly obtained for the god Sin. So far as they have any relation to the Epic of Creation, naturally the Erech spring festival has special interest. But the celebration of the New Year of Nisan at Erech does not mention

¹ See JENSEN, KB. vi² 35 and THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels*, 147.

² The texts of the Erech autumn ritual are AO. 6459, TH.-D., *Rituels*, 66-7, and AO. 6465, *ibid.* p. 72; the edition of the ritual will be found, *ibid.* 86-99. The Erech Nisan ritual was published by EBELING, KAR. 132, and edited first by ZIMMERN, *Neujahrsfest*², 20-35, and later by TH.-D., *Rituels*, 99-108, who was able to restore some lines from the parallel autumn festival.

Marduk at all, makes no reference to the Epic of Creation, nor to the older Sumerian combat between Enlil or Ninurta and the giants of Chaos. This celebration also lasted eleven days, and the king must be present here also.¹ The Epic of Creation was probably ignored entirely by the older cults of the south, and regarded by their ancient priesthoods as a poem and myth of local origin, a conceit of the new priesthood of Babylon. The festival at Babylon consequently differed in nearly every detail from that of the older cities.

But now let us come to the occult tablets on which the mystagogues of Babylon wrote their curious interpretations of the festival. The most important tablet carries thirty-six lines on the obverse, the top and bottom being broken away, and the reverse is almost entirely destroyed.² It belongs to a series of tablets which contained the secret meaning of each act of the long eleven-day celebration. In view of the fact that we possess less than half of the actual ritual and only a small section of the commentary, we are of course not likely to find the comments applicable to any known part of the ritual. According to ZIMMERN'S restoration of the first line some one goes to a trench or ditch,³ stands there, and casts something into it; this is said to refer to [Ninurta?] who cast *him* into the nether sea for Enlil and confided *him* to the Anunnaki. It refers to the older myth of the son of Enlil, who bound the

¹ Theoretically the king was present at certain vital parts of every New Year festival in each city, but that was of course impossible, and as a substitute he sent his royal garments. See TH.-DANGIN, *Rituels*, 57 n. 95 and 146 n. 4.

² K. 3476 in CT. 15, 43-4. Translated by ZIMMERN, *Neujahrsfest*¹, 127-36.

³ *buru*.

dragons and cast them into the lower world. The ritual for the fifth day mentions a trench (l. 457) into which the high priest casts a bundle of forty reeds and which the king sets on fire. If the commentary really applies to this passage, the forty reeds represent monsters bound and cast into hell-fire. The commentary then says that the fire, which (the king?) lights, is Marduk, who in his youth . . .¹ The next act commented upon concerns certain participants who hurl firebrands. These persons represent the gods, Marduk's fathers and brothers, when they heard (of his birth?), and these gods (i.e. the priests) kiss some object which is interpreted to mean Marduk, whom Ninlil in his infancy raised to her knees and kissed. Again the old myth of Enlil and his consort Ninlil, parents of Ninurta (not Marduk), reappears.

In the ritual a fire is kindled before Ninlil and a sheep placed upon an oven; this means Kingu, the husband of the dragon Tiamat, who was burned by Marduk. Firebrands are lighted from the oven, and these mean the arrows from the quiver of Bēl-Marduk, and the gods his fathers who bound *ilu* Zû and *ilu* Asakku² in their midst. The king (whose presence at the ritual began on the fifth day) lifts a *dumaki* (weapon?) above his head; this means Marduk, who lifted his weapons above his head and consumed the sons of Enlil and Ea³ with fire. The king breaks a vessel with a *lisnu*; this means Marduk, who bound *Tiamat* (?) in his victory (?).

The king tosses (sic!) a roasted bread; that means

¹ ZIMMERN makes here the natural inference that the text refers to some valiant deed of the infant Marduk.

² The bound gods were cast into the lower world and became evil demons, the *Asakku*. The text is not clear at this point.

³ This refers to some mythical demons not mentioned in the Semitic version of the Epic. The seven *Asakku* sons of Anu, the conquest of Ninurta, in KAR. 142 ii 9-10, are probably referred to here.

Marduk and Nebo who . . . and Anu bound him and broke him. The king stands at a station and into his hand is put a . . . and a psalmist recites a hymn entitled 'Goddess Namurrit'; this means Marduk who . . . his feet in the . . . of Ea placed and the planet Venus. . . . The king (?) tosses a . . .; that means the heart of Ea as he pondered¹ and in his hands. . . . The ritual now mentions a cavalryman who with a sweet fig . . . and who being brought in before the god (Marduk ?) shows the fig to the god and to the king; this means him who was sent to Enlil² and whose hand Nergal took.³ He who entered Esagila and showed his weapon to Marduk and Zarpanit, who kissed him (or it ?); that means. . . . The eunuchs who shout and sing in the plain . . . who smite the . . . and utter wails, lifting each other up and distracting *the senses*; these mean those who against Enlil⁴ and Ea (uttered) loud cries and poured out their terror against them, and whose . . . they severed and *threw* into the nether sea.

Here the tablet breaks away. It is, however, quite clear that it contains certain rituals of the festival of the New Year based upon various creation myths, and that it refers to the ceremonies from the end of the fifth day onward. The hymn to Marduk on the eleventh day, a bilingual composition arranged for choral recital, has been recovered, but it has no bearing upon the Epic of Creation.⁵

¹ Cf. Book I 61 or II 97.

² *i lu BE*. This ideogram usually means Enlil in Assyrian and Ea in Babylonian. But for *i lu BE* = Enlil in Babylonian, see V Raw. 47 b 6, *d. Elim-ma* (i. e. Enlil) = *d. BE*.

³ Here again there is nothing in the Epic which corresponds to the ritual.

⁴ Enlil here and above (n. 2) probably refers to Marduk.

⁵ K. 4933 in IV Raw. 18, no. 2, restored from a Babylonian duplicate by WEISSBACH, *Miscellen*, 36-41. See also JENSEN, KB. vi² 36-41. The

The German excavations at the old capital of Assyria not only provide the oldest texts of the Epic of Creation, but they also prove the existence of a New Year's festival there, very similar to the celebration at Babylon. The information concerning the celebration at Babylon was intimately connected with the myths of the Epic of Creation which glorified Marduk. This Epic profoundly influenced the religion of Assyria, more so in fact than any other Babylonian poem. At Aššur the priests substituted their national deity Ašur for Marduk, and a temple for the sacrifices of the New Year's festival *akītu* was discovered outside the city wall of Aššur. A fragment of the hymn sung to Marduk on the eleventh day of Nisan was recovered at Aššur.¹ Another Aššur text mentions the seven great gods who participated in the *sa[ḥāru ù] taluku ša arāb Nisan*, manœuvres and procession of the month of Nisan (EBELING, KAR. 142 Obv. II 25–33), and among them neither Marduk nor his Assyrian substitute Ašur occurs.

The ritual of the New Year at Babylon placed another aspect of Marduk in clear light. He, like Ninurta, upon whose cult the new Babylonian worship was based, figured as a solar god, and the chief significance of the Epic and the ritual of the spring equinox consisted in the return of the sun from the regions of winter darkness, the victory of light over the dragon of storm and night. It was, therefore, natural that a myth concerning Marduk's descent into the lower world and his resurrection should have arisen at Babylon. This myth, and the ritual to which

colophon says that it was sung when Bēl entered Esagila from the house of sacrifice.

¹ EBELING, KAR. 106. It is probably redacted with the name *ilu Ašur* for Marduk. The *akītu* at Aššur was also situated near the river as at Babylon, and the procession of the gods from the city to the house of sacrifice was really a voyage in boats for at least part of the journey.

it gave form, was probably inspired more or less by the ancient cult of Tammuz, the young god of vegetation, who died yearly, sojourned in the lower world, and returned to the upper world.¹ This parallel cult of Marduk as a solar deity has no direct bearing upon the Epic of Creation, but its details are so important that it cannot be omitted here. The only source at present available for this mystic ceremony of the death and resurrection of Bēl was not recovered in Babylonia but at Aššur.² The text has a colophon, but it makes no mention of an original at Babylon. It may be assumed, then, that this mysterious rite was also practised in Assyria. The text has attracted wide attention in theological circles, more especially for its apparent relation to the death and resurrection of the founder of Christianity. ZIMMERN, the first interpreter, made much of this point and drew up a parallel table of the leading features of the ritual and the arrest, trial, scourging, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus. The text will undoubtedly become the subject of much theological discussion, and an authentic English version should not be omitted here. I give both transcription and translation.

¹ The cult of Tammuz is fully described in the writer's *Tammuz and Ishtar*.

² EBELING, KAR. 143, translated by ZIMMERN, *Neujahrsfest*², 2-21. ZIMMERN later discussed this tablet with special reference to the pre-Christian mystery cults in a lecture delivered at Jena, September 1921, and published under the title *Babylonische Vorstufen der vorderasiatischen Mysterienreligionen*, ZDMG. 76, 36-54.

THE DEATH AND RESUR-

¹ The principal fragment, VAT. 9555, contains the upper half of the Obverse and lower half of the Reverse. A duplicate, VAT. 9538, which supplies much of the missing section of the major tablet, was utilized by ZIMMERN. For this duplicate scholars must at present depend upon ZIMMERN's transcription.

² Restorations after ZIMMERN, when not otherwise indicated.

⁵ That is the 'lower world'. The month of Tammuz was known as the *araḥ kimiṭum ilū* [Tammuz], 'Month of the binding of Tammuz', SBH. 145 b 13, which indicates the source of the myth of the binding and imprisonment of Marduk.

SECTION OF BÊL-MARDUK¹

1. ; that is Bêl who was confined in the mountain.³

² See, e.g., *United States v. Ladd*, 10 F.3d 1250, 1254 (11th Cir. 1993) (noting that the Court of Appeals has held that § 1962(c) does not apply to a RICO conspiracy); *United States v. Gandy*, 945 F.2d 1447, 1453 (11th Cir. 1991) (noting that § 1962(c) does not apply to a RICO conspiracy).

3: he brings him forth.

4. a messenger of his lords hastens
(saying), 'Who brings him forth ?'

5. He who goes and brings him forth.

6. He who rides; that is he who to the mountain³ goes.

7. To which he goes; that is the house on the edge of the mountain³ wherein they question him.

8. [Nebo who from] Barsippa comes; that is he who comes (to seek) after the welfare of his father (Marduk) who is held captive.

9. The who in the streets hasten ; they seek
for Bêl (saying), 'Where is he held captive ?'

10. The who stretches out her hands ; she
prays to Sin and Shamash saying, ' Give life to Bêl '.

11. [The gate of the]-s, to which she goes; that is the gate of the grave⁵; she goes there seeking him.

⁴ Here probably Zarpanit, wife of Marduk, corresponding to Ishtar, who seeks for Tammuz in the lower world.

⁵ Here is a clear reference to the grave of Bēl, where he was supposed to lie while his soul sojourned in the lower world until the resurrection. Strabo, Book XVII 5, mentions the grave of Bēl as one of the striking features of Babylon in the Greek period, ὁ τοῦ Βήλου τάφος αὐτόθι. Aelian (*Variae Historiae*, xiii 3) says that Xerxes dug into this tomb and found a glass coffin in which lay a corpse in oil, and the oil filled the coffin up to within a hand-breadth of the rim. By this tumulus stood a stela bearing this inscription, ‘It will not be well with him who opens

12. []ma-a-še ša ina bábi ša É-sag-ila i-za-zu-u-ni ^{amel}maşşarê-šu šu-nu ina eli-šu pağ-du i-na-şa-[ru-šu]
13. ša ku-ri[]e-pi-šu-ni¹ a-ki ilāni e-si-ru-šu-ni iħ-ti-lik ina libbi napšāti²
14. [ana bit me-]si-ri šam-[ši u] nûri ištu lib-bi us-si-ri du-niš-[šu]
15. ša ina şapli-šu ik-tar-ri-bu ša lab-bu-šu-ni³ mi-iħ-ṣi ša mah-ħu-ṣu-ni-šu-nu³ ina dâmē-šu [sar-pu]
16. [il-⁴]tum ša is-[si-]šu kam-mu-sa-tu-ni a-na šul-me-šu ta-ta-[rad]
17. [mar ^{iħu}Aš-šur]⁶ ša is-si-šu la il-lak-u-ni ma-a la bel hi-it-ṭi a-na-ku ma-a la us-sa-ta-am-mah-[ħaṣ]

the coffin and fills it not'. Having read this Xerxes feared and commanded oil to be poured into the coffin quickly, but it filled not up. Again he commanded oil to be poured in, but it received no increase, and he abandoned the task. Having closed the sepulchre he fled sorely troubled. And the stela deceived not, for Xerxes, having collected a host against the Greeks, fled unhappily. Having returned, he died most disgracefully, for by night his own son cut his father's throat as he slept. Strabo says that Xerxes destroyed this sepulchre, which was a pyramid made of burnt brick; its height was a stade and each side was a stade. Alexander desired to rebuild this pyramid, and spent much labour and time upon it. But the removal of the earth which had fallen occupied 10,000 men two months, and he gave it up. Disease and death befell the king, and after him no one cared for it. Diodorus Siculus (xvii 112), describing the entry of Alexander into Babylon, says that the seers sent out a delegation to warn him that a king who entered Babylon would die. But this might be avoided by rebuilding the tomb of Bēl which the Persians had destroyed. It is obvious that these traditions refer to the great stage tower of Babylon, Etemenanki, whose sides are now known to have been 180 cubits and height 192 cubits according to the SCHEIL Esagila tablet, which apparently omits the sixth stage. The cubit employed here equals 0.50 metre approximately, and the sides measure 90 metres, or about 300 feet. The height is about 320 feet. Herodotus agrees with Strabo in giving the length of each side and the

12. The twins who at the gate of Esagila stand; these are his watchmen; they are appointed to guard him.

13. The who make *lament*; (that means) when the gods bound him he perished from among the living;

14. [Into the house of bondage] from the sun and light they caused him to descend.

15. The which touch him beneath and with which they clothe him; these are the wounds with which they wound him; with his blood [*they are dyed*].

16. The *goddess* who tarries⁵ with him has descended (to seek) for his welfare.

17. [*The son of Ašur*] who goes not with him, saying, 'Not am I a sinner', and 'Not shall I be wounded';

height of the pyramid as a stade, which exaggerates the real measurements twofold. See RA, 15, 59 and 15, 111, and WEISSBACH, OLZ. 1914, 197. This lofty stage tower was connected with the legend of Bêl's death and descent into the lower world in the Greek period, and the tale must have been widely believed in Western Asia as late as our own era. Ctesias, *Epit. Photii*, § 21, preserves a different legend of the tomb of Bêl. He says that Xerxes went to Babylon longing to see the grave of Βῆλιτανᾶ, and saw it by the aid of Mardonius. But he was unable to fill it. *Bêl-itana* has been explained as *Bêl-Etana*, or 'Etana is Bêl', on the assumption that in some way the ancient hero Etana (later deified), who is said to have ascended to heaven on the back of an eagle, was identified with Bêl-Tammuz, the dying god. So LEHMANN-HAUPT, *Orientalische Studien NÖLDFKE . . . gewidmet*, 998 ff. The thesis is not convincing, and the *Bêl-itana* of Ctesias still remains unexplained.

¹ ZIMMERN construes *epišu* as a permansive, but cf. the subjunctive permansive *ep-šu-u-ni*, l. 55. It appears to be for the Prs. *cpaš*, *cptaš*, *eppuš*.

² *ZI-MEŠ?* ³ For these Prm. piels, cf. YLVISAKER, LSS. v 6, p. 34.

⁴ So ZIMMERN.

⁵ For *kamāsu*, kneel, in this sense, cf. H. L. 1360, 10, *ina eli nari kammusaku*.

⁶ Restored from l. 19. But doubtful. One expects here the name of some priest who acts in the ritual as representative of the 'son of Ašur'.

18. [] *ilu*Aš-šur di-na-ni¹ ina pa-ni-šu ip-ti-ú
di-na-ni i-di-nu

19. [šu-u ša is]-si-šu la il-lak-u-ni mar *ilu*Aš-šur šu-u-tu
ma-šu-ru šu-ú ina muh-hi-šu pa-ķid álu bir-tu ina muh-
hi-šu i-na-[aş-şar]²

20. [kakkadu ša] ina *īlū*tal-li ša *ilat* Be-lit Bāb-ili-(ki)
i-la-an-ni ķakkadu ša bēl hi-it-ti ša is-si-šu i-m[ah-ħa-
su-ni]³

21. [ù i-]da-ku-šu-ni šu-tu. ķakkad-su ina *šō*[] ša
ilat Be-lit Bāb-ili-(ki) e-ta-'a-[*lu*]

22. [*ilu**Nabû*] ša a-na Bár-sip-(ki) i-sa-ħur-u-ni il-lak-
u-ni *iqatal*-[li] ša ina libbi-šu is-sa-na-[*kan-ú-ni*]

23. [*ār-ki*] ša *īlū*Bēl ina ħur-sa-an il-lik-u-ni álu ina eli-
[šu] it-ta-bal-ķat ķa-ra-bu ina libbi-šu *i-pú-šu*⁵

24. aṭnāti ša šahē ša ina pan ḥarrani ša *īlū**Nabu* ki-i
iṣtu⁶ Bár-sip-(ki) il-la-kan-an-ni i-kar-ra-bu-ni

25. *ilu**Nabu*⁷ ša il-lak-an-ni ina muh-hi i-za-zu-u-ni
im-mar-u-ni bēl hi-it-ti ša itti *ilu*Bēl šu-tū-[ni šu-ú]

26. ki-i⁸ ša itti *ilu*Bēl šu-tū-ni im-[mar]

27. *amel*mašmašē ša ina pa-na-tu-šu il-lik-u-ni ši-ip-tam
i-ma-an-nu-*u-ni* nišē-šu šu-nu ina pa-na-tu-šu ú-na-bu-[u

28. *amelu*maḥ-ħu-u ša ina pan *ilat* Be-lit Bāb-ili-(ki) il-la-
ku-u-ni amelu mu-pa-si-ru šu-u a-na irti-ša i-bak-ki-
[i-ma]

29. . . . ma-a a-na ħur-sa-an ub-bu-lu-šu ši-i ta-da-ra¹⁰
ma-a aħu-u-a aħu-u-a

¹ *dīnānu*, judgement, is not well documented. Cf. *di-na-an-ni-a*
*amel**dajāne*, SCHROEDER, KAV. 6 Rev. 6.

² In l. 12 watchmen are appointed at the grave of Marduk-Bēl, but
l. 19 probably refers to the confinement in the lower world.

³ ZIMMERN restores *i-rid-du-šu-ni*, 'whom they lead away'.

18. '[For the] of Ašur have revealed my judgement before him and have declared my judgement' ;

19. [This one] who goes not with him, this son of Ašur, he is a watchman, he is appointed over him, he guards the prison over him.²

20. [The head which] is bound to the door of Beltis of Babylon, that is the head of the malefactor whom they smite,

21. and slay with him. His head they bind to the neck (?) of Beltis of Babylon.

22. [Nebo] who returns to Barsippa and who in the gate was placed,

23. after Bêl went to the mountain (lower world); (that means) the city fell into tumult because of him and fighting within it they made.

24. The reed pigsties which are before the way of Nebo, as he comes from Barsippa to adore him,

25. Nebo who comes and stands over (him), and regards him; that means this sinner who is with Bêl.

26. that he is with Bêl he sees.

27. The priests of incantation who go before him³ reciting an incantation; they are his people, who wail before him.

28. The Magi who goes before the Beltis of Babylon; that is the messenger, he weeps before her,

29. . . . saying, 'Unto the mountain (lower world) they have taken him'; she goes down (?) saying 'O my brother, O my brother'

⁴ ZIMMERN supplies *gú* = *kišadu*, neck?

⁵ ZIMMERN, *up(?)-pu?*-šu.

⁶ TA. Cf. I. 8.

⁷ Perhaps a sign gone at the beginning of the line.

⁸ Text *kan!*

⁹ Nebo.

¹⁰ For *ta-ta-rad?* ZIMMERN reads *ta-ta-rad*, 'she cries out' (?).

30. . . . la-bu-su-šu ša a-na ^{*ilat*}Bêlit-Uruk-(ki) u-še-bal-u-ni ku-zip-pi šu-nu it-ta-[ba-lu-ni-šu]
31. lu-u kaspu lu-u ḥurašu lu-u abnê -šu ša ištū libbi E-sag-ila a-na ekurrāti u-še-šu-u-ni bit-su šu-u-tū
32. ^{*subat*}še-ir-i-tu ² ša lab-bu-šu-ni ina ka-dam-me
33. ši-iz-bu ša ina pan ^{*ilat*}Ištar ša Ninua i-ḥal-li-bu-ni ni-mi-il ši-i tu-ra-bu-šu-ni ri-e-mu ú-ka-al-lim-uš-[šu-ni]
34. e-nu-ma e-liš [ša da-bi-ib-u-ni ina pan ^{*ilu*}Bêl ina ^{*arab*}Nisanni i-za-mur-ú-šu-ni ina eli ša ša-bit-u-ni šu-u
35. šu-ul-li-e-šu-nu ú-ṣal-la su-ra-ri-šu-nu i ⁶-sa-[ra-ar]⁷
36. [urugallû ?] šu-tu i-da-bu-ub ma-a dam-ḳa-a-te ša ^{*ilu*}Aššur ši-na e-ta-pa-aš ma-a mi-i-nu ḥi-[iṭ-ta-šu]
37. ša šami-e i-da-gal-u-ni ana ^{*ilu*}Sin ^{*ilu*}Šamaš u-ṣal-la ma-a búl-li-[ṭa-an-]ni

¹ For *kuzippu*, a kind of robe, see MEISSNER, *Suppl.*, and BEHRENS, LSS. ii 1, pp. 16, 33, 91; K. 3500 i 16 in WINCKLER, *Forschungen (kuzippu ina lani-kunu)*; K. 659 R. 4; HARPER, *Letters*, 1126, 11.

² In the Sippar cult tablet V 44, 52, 54; VI 3 the še-ri'-tu garment is mentioned as the raiment for the sun-god, his consort, and his attendant Bunene; V Raw. 61. K. 4211 Obv. 15 explains [.]-lum by šer'-i-tu in list of garments. ZIMMERN connects the word with šer'ā, grain, vegetation, and renders 'garment of grain heads', Ährengewand. See also I. 53.

³ Or *kaṭammu?* a garment? See I. 56.

⁴ *ḥalābu*, denominative of *ḥilābu*, milk? cognate of Heb. בָּלַב, &c. The ritual refers to the Epic I 85–6. *nīmilu*, sucking, probably derived from *ḥiy*, to nurse by suckling. The verb *evelu*, *emēlu* has not been found in Assyrian.

⁵ The Epic of Creation 'When on high' was recited before Bêl in the evening of the fourth day of the New Year festival of Nisan, THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels*, 136, 279–84. This proves that the ritual of Bêl's death and resurrection was held at the same time. The fragment Rm. 275.

30. . . . his garments which he causes to be brought to Beltis of Erech; these are his raiment¹ which they [took from him].

31. Be it silver, be it gold, be it his jewels which he causes to be brought forth from within Esagila unto the temples; that means his temple which

32. The *šer'itu* garment in which he (Marduk) was clothed; that means in a coffin (?) (*kadammu*)³

33. The milk which before Ishtar of Nineveh they milk;⁴ that is she who reared him by suckling, showing him mercy.

34. 'When on high' which is recited and which before Bêl in the month Nisan they sing; because he was bound it is; *he was*⁵

35. Their prayers he prays and their implorations he implores.

36. *This high priest* recites saying: 'These benefactions for Ašur I do'; saying, 'What is *his sin?*'⁶

37. The who looks to heaven; that means he prays to Sin and Shamash saying, 'Restore me to life';⁷ discussed below, Rev. 4, has [. *i-za*]-*mu-ru-ú-šu-ni ina eli ša su-bit-ú-ni šu-ú*[.]

⁶ VAT. 9538, *u*.

⁷ These prayers, together with the recitation of the Epic, were said by the high priest in Marduk's chapel *E-umuš-a*. The antecedent of *šunu* is probably Bêl and Beltis of Babylon, or in the service at Assur it refers to Assur and his consort.

⁸ ZIMMERN restored *hi-it-tu-a*. Rm. 275 has a different text; [. *damkâti ša*] *ilu Aš-šur ši-na e-ta-pa-aš ina eli pi-li*(?) *ilu Aš-šur ša* If *pili* be the correct reading, and 'Because of the humiliation of Ašur' the right rendering, it follows that in the Assyrian ritual *Ašur* is substituted for *Marduk*. Then the restoration *hi-it-ta-šu*, 'What is his sin' in l. 36 would be more likely.

⁹ Rm. 275 has here, as in l. 10, a priestess or a goddess who prays for the resurrection of Bêl; [. *ana*] *ilu A-nim ilu Sin ilu Šamaš ilu Ramman tu-ša-al-la* [*ma-a bul-lit-su?*]. The Ašur text interprets the act to mean that Bêl in the lower world prays for his own release. On Rm. 275 the god Enki now appears in the ritual.

38. ša ḫak-ku-ru i-da-gal-u-ni ḥu-ur-ni-šu ina
eli-šu kar-ru-ni ina eli ša ištu libbi ḥur-sa-an il-[lak-
u-]ni
39. [amclu mu-pa-si-ru ša itti] ^{ilu}Bēl a-na bit á-ki-ti
la u-ṣu-ni ú ša ^{amel}sa-ab-te i-na-aš-ši i-si-šu
i-[ta-ša]^b.
40. [^{ilat}Belit] Bābili-(ki) (?) ša ina libbi bit á-ki-ti *la*
ta-al-lak-ú-ni zinnišat ša-ki-in-tū ša bīti [ši-i ?]³
41. -ti bīti tu-di-i ma-a bita uš-ri ina ḳatē-
ki ú-[⁵]]
42. [. ^{ilat}Belit-] Bāb-ili-(ki) ša atū ina ku-tal-
li-ša-ni sipi⁶ šarti⁶ tal-pu ina pa-ni-[ša-ni]
43. [ina eli ša ḳa-t]u-uš-ša da-mu ša sur-ri ša tab-
ku-ni
44. ša ūm 8-kam ša ^{arah}Nisanni šahâ ina
pa-ni-ša i-ṭa⁸-[ba-ḥu-ni]
45. [zinnišat ša-ki-in]-ta ša bīti ši-i i-ša'-u-lu-ši ma-]a
man-nu bēl ḥi-it-ṭi ma-a
46. u-bal-u-ni bēl ḥi-it-ṭi i-[mah-ḥa-ṣu-ni
.]
47. il-lak-u-ni *AŠ*(?) . *MUT* . *LI*-ša⁹ a-ki
im-ma-ah-[ḥa-ṣu-ni]

¹ Bēl now is about to return from the lower world. The myth of his descent into hell is not confined to this ritual. As patron of springs and rivers a prayer describes him as follows: *bēl naḳbē ūadi u tamāti ha-i-ṭu ḥur-sa-a-ni*, Lord of the wells of the mountain and of the seas, he that paces the mountain (of the nether world); KING, *Magic*, 12, 28.

² Restored from K. 9138, 13.

³ Space for more signs. This is ZIMMERN'S restoration.

⁴ Or temple? Bēl descends into the lower world and a woman (Beltis) rules in his temple! *zinnišat* seems to mean Beltis here.

38. The who looks toward the earth ; that means that his has been placed thereon, and it is because he comes from within the mountain.¹

39. [The herald]² who with Bêl to the house of the New Year's festival goes not out ; that means the of a prisoner he bears and with him he sits.

40. The Beltis of Babylon who goes not into the house of the New Year's festival ; that is the woman who was placed over the house.⁴

41. [To her they say, 'The of the temple thou knowest', and again, 'Watch the temple and with thy hands']

42. Beltis of Babylon who binds an *aṭū* garment on her back, and a *sipū* of wool on her face

43. [That is because she with her hand] the blood of the body which was poured out [wipes away].⁷

44. The before whom on the eighth of Nisan they slaughter a pig ;

45. That is the woman who is placed over the temple ; they question her saying, 'Who is the malefactor ?' and again, ' '

46. they take away and the malefactor they slay

47. The who come as he is slain

¹ ZIMMERN restores *u-su-uḥ-hi*, remove (?).

² Written *Sig-TAB* ; for the reading *sipū* see RA. 13, 183, 28, *si-pi*. *atū* is written *sig-gíg*. *tal-pu* for *ta-la-pu* from *alāpu*? ZIMMERN corrects the text and reads *šipat tab-ri-mu*, 'bright wool'.

⁷ The restorations in this line are by ZIMMERN, and are extremely doubtful.

⁸ Or *i-ma-aḥ-ha-su-ni*.

⁹ So the transcription of VAT. 9538, *ibid.*

48. -mu¹ mē ár-hiš i-za-am-[mu-ru]
49. [. u-dal-]lah-hu-ni u-ṣar-ra-ru-u-ni mē da-
al-hu-te šu-nu[.]
50. bil (?)-la (?) ba-ak-te (?) i-kar-ra-ru-ni ša
ka-du-ur-ti
51. ša ina libbi *araḥ*Nisanni a-na dannis
ma'-du-ni kēmu ki-i ša-bit-u-ni
52. mē kātē ša u-ḳar-rab-u-ni bi-id ib-ku-ni šu-u di'-i
.
53. *yubatše*-ir'-i-tu ša ina muḥ-hi-šu ša i-ka-bu-u-ni ma-a
mē šu (?)nu-[ti] si-li'-a-ti ši-na
54. šu-u ina libbi e-nu-ma e-liš ik-ti-bu-u ki-i šami-e
irši-tim la ib-ba-nu-ni An-ṣar it-[tab-ši]
55. ki-i ālu u bitu ip-šu-u-ni šu-u it-tab-ši mē ša ina
eli An-ṣar [šu-nu-ma *par-su-ma*]⁴
56. šu-u-tu ša hi-ṭa-šu ina libbi ka-dam-me⁵ šu-tu
e-si-ip *la mē* la-biš ka-dam-me
57. li-is-mu ša ina *araḥ*Nisanni ina pan *ilu*Bēl ù ma-
ha-za-ni gab-bu i-kal-[la-du-ni]⁶

¹ VAT. 9538, -ū.

² *ṣarāru*, original sense, ‘coil, flow in waves’, then ‘flicker, glisten, shine’. Cf. CT. 16, 24, 23, *a-gim ḡe-im-ma-an-sur-sur = kima mē lîṣrur*, ‘May it run away like water’.

³ This is the first line on the Reverse of VAT. 9555. According to ZIMMERN’s edition VAT. 9538 fills in the entire break between the end of the Obverse and the beginning of the Reverse.

⁴ The obscure passage 52-5 refers to water employed in the ritual of washing the body or the *šer’itu* garment of Anṣar = Ašur = Marduk-

48. *The who water quickly as they chant*

49. [The waters which] they make muddy and cause to run away;² they are the muddy waters which

50. The which they set forth which

51. The which in the month Nisan are exceedingly plentiful; that means when he was seized

52. The water for the hand(washing) which they bring nigh after he has been taken away; that is the misery which³

53. The *šer'itu* garment which is upon him is that of which they speak saying, 'These waters—they (mean) sorrows'.

54. This is what they speak in the recital of 'When on high', 'When heaven and earth were not created Anšar came into being,

55. When city and house were made he came into being (and) the waters, which upon Anšar [are, were separated?]

56. This one whose sin is; in a *kadammû* he is and in water is he not covered; the *kadammû*

57. The race which in the month of Nisan before Bêl and all the sacred places they run in frenzy;

Bêl. The recital in 54-5 concerning the separation of the fresh waters from the salt waters is parallel to the numerous legends of the miraculous origin of plants and stones used in the rituals of incantations. The object is to show the mystical origin of the water employed in this ritual.

² Probably a Sumerian loan-word for coffin, composed of *ki-dam*? Line 56 refers to the malefactor slain with Bêl. Rm. 275 has here a verb *ša ú-hap-pa-tu-u-šu-ni*, 'whom they plundered'.

³ Restored from Rm. 275. For the meaning of *galâdu*, *galâtu* see *Babylonica*, ii 124 and MEISSNER, ATU. ii 59.

58. ki-i *ilu*Aš-šur *ilu*Nin-urta ina eli ka-ša-di ša *ilu*Zi-i¹
iš-pur-u-ni [*ilu*Nin-urta]
59. ina pan *ilu*Aš-šur ik-ti-bi ma-a² *ilu*Zu-u ka-ši-id
*ilu*Aš-šur a-na *ilu*[Nusku? *ik-ti-bi*]
60. ma-a a-lik a-na ilāni gab-bu pa-si-ir u-pa-sa-ar-
šu-nu ù šu-nu ina eli *ih-[du-u-ma]*³
61. da-ba-bu gab-bu ša ina lib-bi *amel*kalê [*i-da-ab-*
bu-bu-ni]
62. ša ha-ba-a-te ša i-hab-ba-tu-šu-ni ša u-šal-pa-tu-
šu-ni šu-u ilāni abē-šu šu-nu
63. *ilu*Nusku ša É-sa-bad ib-bir-an-ni *amel*mar šipri
šu-u-tu *ilat*gu-la ina muh-ḥi-šu ta-šap-pa-ra
64. şubatu şēnu ša ina bit *ilat*Be-lit Bāb-ili-ki ub-bal-
u-ni [*mi-]it-ḥu-ur*⁴ šu-u-tū u-še-bal-aš-ši
65. [?]mi-il⁵ a-na ša-a-šu la ú-šar-u-šu-ni la ú-šu-u-ni

¹ Rm. 275 adds *ilu*Ki-in-gu *ilu*A-sak-ku.

² Rm. 275, [ma-]a *ilu*Zu-ú *ilu*Ki-in-gu *ilu*A-sak-ku [*kaš-du*].

³ Rm. 275 after *MUH* has probably *ih*.

⁴ That is the psalmists participate in the race reciting chants concerning the victory of Ninurta.

⁵ Temple of Gula in Babylon. The original writing is é-sa-bad. IR. 55 iv 40; RA. 16, 163, 29, é-sa-bad; see BOISSIER, *ibid.* p. 206, and perhaps in N. Pr. É-sá-be-ba-gub, HUSSEY, *Sumerian Tablets*, 40 i 2. ► when read *bad* has the meanings *pitú*, to open, and *nisiú*, *rēku*, be far removed. BOISSIER, RA. 18, 43, has already observed the passages which confirm the reading *bad*. SCHROEDER, KAV. 42 R. 13 = 43 R. 26, *sa-bad* = *pi-ta-at uzni*, i.e. 'Temple of her who opens the ears', Temple of Gula as goddess of understanding. KAR. 109, 20, the mother goddess in É-sa-bad is *pi-ta-at uzni na-ba-at ta-bi-ni*, 'opening the ear, proclaiming wisdom'. Hence *sa* = *uznu* and *bad* = *pitú*. For *sa* = *uznu* see CT. xi 30, 7 b, SA (*sa-a*) = *uz-[nu]*, and the original meaning of *tabīnu* from *ti* divide, discern, is also 'ear', then 'wisdom'. See PINCKERT, *Nebo*, p. 22, and RA. x 74, á-bad = *tabīnu*, with *sululu*, *bun zir-ri*, both words for ear. Cf. K. 12056 in MEISSNER, *Supplement*, Obv. 1-3, *tabīnu*, also 'side wall', KING, *Creat.*, ii, App. V 78. This

58. That means; when Ašur sent Ninurta to conquer the god Zû, [Ninurta]

59. before Ašur spoke saying, 'Zû is conquered'; and Ašur spoke to the god Nusku (?)

60. saying, 'Hasten unto all the gods, announce the tidings'; he announced the tidings to them and they rejoiced.

61. All the words which therein⁴ the psalmists recite,

62. The plunder which they take as they cause him to be felled; that means that the gods his fathers

63. Nusku who passes by Esabad;⁵ he is the messenger; Gula sends him on his (Bel's) behalf.

64. The clothing and sandals which they bring into the temple of Bêltis of Babylon, this corresponds to, he brings (them) to her.

65. A for him whom they allow not to escape and who cannot come forth.

late explanation of *sa-bad* may not be the original sense, for the scribe in KAV. 42 R. 14 = 43 R. 27 has another explanation; *sa* = *naṣāru* and  = *kuburu*, and *É-sa-BAD* = *bit naṣir kuburu*, 'Temple of him who protects the grave', hence also a temple of some god; clearly the explanation is based upon this ritual, and the legend of the grave of Bêl. In fact this second explanation has no sound basis in the words *sa-bad*. *sa* = *uznu*, ear, is intelligible from the root *sa*, wisdom, counsel, *Sum. Gr.* 235, and note possible variant *sá* in the early name *É-sá-be-ba-gub*. But *sa* is not a word for *naṣāru*, and  = *kuburu* is possible only by reading the sign as *idim*, well, pit, *Sum. Gr.* 221. In fact this explanation is taken from the ritual without any regard to the real meaning of *É-sa-bad*. Nusku seems to have been regarded as the keeper of Bêl's tomb, and Gula's temple which was drawn into this connexion by her intimate relation to Zarpanit or Beltis, who weeps for Bêl, is made the subject of a fantastic linguistic explanation. Nusku passes by a temple of a mother goddess, one of the women who weep for Bêl-Tammuz, and he was also keeper of the sepulchre of Bêl until Bêl's resurrection. By pure fancy *sa-bad* is made to refer to Nusku as *nāṣir kuburi*, 'keeper of the tomb'.

⁴ Text *it-hu-ur!* This is also ZIMMERN's conjecture.

⁵ ZIMMERN reads *ni'l-mi-il*, but the text is against this.

66. *išu*narkabtu ša a-na bit a-ki-it tal-lak-u-ni ta-la-kan-an-ni bēl-ša la-aš-šu ša la bēli ta-sa-bu'-u
67. ù ilat sak-ku-ku-tu ša ištu âli ta-lab-ba-an-ni ba-ki-su ši-i ištu âli ta-la-bi-a
68. *išu*dalat bir-ri² ša i-ka-bu-u-ni ilâni šu-nu i-ta-as-ru-šu ina biti e-tar-ba *išu*dalta ina pani-šu e-te-di-li
69. šu-nu lju-ur-ra-a-te ina libbi *išu*dalti up-ta-li-šu
 ka-ra-bu ina lib-bi up-pu-šu
70. man-nu ša dup-pu an-ni-u e-mar-ra-ku-u-ni lu-u
 ina mē i-kar-ra-ar-u-ni
71. ù im-mar-u-ni a-na ša la u-du-u-ni³ la u-ša-aš-
 mu-u-ni
72. *ilu*Aš-šur *ilu*Sin *ilu*Šamaš *ilu*Ramman u *ilat*Iš-tar
 *ilu*Bēl *ilu*Nabû *ilu*Nergal *ilat*Ištar ša Ninua (ki)
73. *ilat*Ištar ša âlu Arba-ili *ilat*Ištar ša Bit-kit-mur-ri
74. ilâni ša šami-e irši-tim ù ilâni mat Aššur(ki)
 ka-li-šu-nu
75. ar-rat la nap-šu-ri ma-ru-uš-tu li-ra-ru-šu-ma a-di
 ûmê bal-ṭu aī ir-šu-šu ri-e-ma
76. šum-šu zēr-šu ina mati li-še-lu-ú šerê-šu ina pi-i
 ša kal-bi liš-kun-nu

¹ *labû*, ܐܼܾܻ form of *labâbu*. Cf. CRAIG, RT. ii 16, Gula *la-ba-at uz-za-at*, and K. 164, 5, *ina irši ta-lab-bi-a*.

² For *birru*, window, see HAUPT, ASKT. 93, 27, *ina apti bir-ri aī erub-šu*, By the aperture of the window may it not enter unto him; and MEISSNER-ROST, *Bauinschriften Sanherib's*, 10, 22, *birri uṭatta*, I made

66. The chariot which goes speeding to the house of New Year's sacrifice without its master; that means that without a master (Bêl) it runs swiftly.

67. And the dumbfounded goddess who from the city (goes) wailing; that is his woman wailer who from the city (goes) weeping.¹

68. The 'door with aperture' as they call it; that means that the gods confined him; he entered into the 'house' and before him one locked the door;

69. They bored holes into the door and there they waged battle.

70. Whosoever erases this tablet or puts it in water,

71. and (whosoever) reads it for whom it is not lawful (to read it), whom one must not permit to hear it,

72. him may Ašur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman and Ishtar, Bêl, Nebo, Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh,

73. Ishtar of Arbela, Ishtar of Bit-kitmurri,

74. the gods of heaven and earth and the gods of Assyria, all of them,

75. curse him with a curse without deliverance and with trouble; and as long as he lives may they have no mercy upon him.

76. His name and his seed from the land may they cause to depart and may they place his flesh in the mouth of dogs.

open light holes, windows. See MEISSNER, *ibid.* p. 26; from *barāru*, shine, shed light. *birru* = any aperture through which light enters, here the aperture in the door of a sepulchre.

¹ Root *הַרְאָה*, ^{ii¹} Prm.

This Aššur tablet is only a commentary on the ritual in which the death and resurrection of Bêl was commemorated. The ritual itself has not been recovered. It is not clear that the ceremony, which obviously accompanied the New Year's festival of Nisan, supposes the *annual* death and resurrection of Bêl; the Tammuz ceremonies are based upon the annual descent of Tammuz into the lower world, and his annual resurrection with the spring vegetation. The text leaves us to conjecture upon this point, but the Bêl myth is obviously borrowed from the older and more widely practised cult of Tammuz, and it is extremely probable that this mystic ritual of Bêl is only a local transformation of the Tammuz cult. Not satisfied with making their city-god Marduk the hero of the Epic of Creation instead of the older Sumerian Ninurta, the priests of Babylon, envious of the most powerful and attractive cult of Sumerian and Accadian religion, transformed Tammuz into Marduk. The result is that the ritual of death and resurrection is brought into intimate relation with the New Year's festival at Babylon, and consequently with the Epic of Creation. The mystic ritual of Bêl's death, descent into hell, and resurrection, when transferred to Assyria, naturally represented the god Ašur as Bêl. Of its original home in Babylon, the myth of Bêl's tomb at Babylon and the numerous references to Beltis of Babylon in the ritual admit no doubt. The extraordinary grammatical comments upon the name of Esabad, temple of the mother-goddess Gula, in Babylon, in which the myth of Bêl's tomb is introduced, adds substantial evidence.¹

The religious ceremonies which arose out of the new cult of Marduk-Bêl were not recognized in the older

¹ See note on l. 63 of the Aššur tablet.

cities of Babylonia, but they obtained wide acceptance in Assyria. The small fragments Rm. 275 and K. 9138 from Nineveh prove that the mystic ritual of Bēl was also practised there.

Like the Aššur tablet, they are written in the colloquial dialect of Assyria, best known from the large collection of letters of the period of the seventh and sixth centuries excavated at Nineveh. The cult must have been practised from a much earlier period, for the Aššur tablets must be dated before the tenth century. Both are fragments of a very large tablet, at least 10 or 11 inches wide. They are also commentaries upon the ritual as practised at Nineveh, and appear to have contained more details and explanations of the mysteries : the order of events is also slightly different. They preserve but few lines, and the new information is slight ; nevertheless they afford evidence of the great influence of the cult in Assyria, a point of special importance for its transmission to Syria and Judea. The texts are published at the end of this volume ; the transcriptions and restorations from the Aššur tablet (in brackets) follow here.

Rm. 275. OBVERSE.

(1) ša šubat *ilu* Bēl (?) (2)
ki (?) *i-za* šu-ú-ni šu-ú (3)
-šu-ú-ni šu-ú a-te šu (4) [e-nu-ma
e-liš ša da-bi-ib-u-ni ina pan *ilu* Bēl ina *arab* Nisanni *i-za-*]
mu-ru-ú-šu-ni ina eli ša ša-bit-ú-ni šu-ú (5) [*uru-*
gallū šu-tu i-da-bu-ub ma-a dam-ka-a-te ša] *ilu* Aš-šur
ši-na e-ta-pa-aš ina eli pi-*li* (?) *ilu* Aš-šur ša
(6) [. ša šami-e i-da-gal-u-ni ana] *ilu* A-nim
ilu Sin *ilu* Šamaš *ilu* Ramman tu-ša-al-li (?)
(7) [. *amelu* mu-]pa-si-[ir] a
ilu En-ki ? ?

REVERSE.

(1) (2) ša ú-ḥap-pa-tu-ú-šu-ni šu-ú
. (3) [li-is-mu ša ina *araḥ* Nisan ni ina pan *ilu* Bēl
ù] ma-ḥa-za-ni gab-bu i-kal-[la-du-ni] (4) [ki-i *ilu* Aš-šur
ilu Nin-urta ina eli ka-ša-di ša] *ilu* Zi-i *ilu* Ki-in-gu *ilu* A-sak-
ku [iš-pur-u-ni *ilu* Nin-urta] (5) [ina pan *ilu* Aš-šur ik-ti-bi
ma-]a *ilu* Zu-ú *ilu* Ki-in-gu *ilu* A-sak-ku [kaš-du *ilu* Aš-šur]
(6) [a-na *ilu* Nusku ik-ti-bi ma-a a lik a-na ilāni gab-bu]
pa-si-ir ú-pa-[as]-sa-ar-šu-nu šu-nu ina eli ih-[du-u-ma]
(7) ? ma ? ku ha-ri-ib-šu ? ? at (?) -tan (?).

K. 9138.

(2) [. a-na] *ilu* A-nim
ilu Sin (3) ši-ip-tu (4)
. eli mi-e-ti (5) ša a-ki-im-
šu (6) [. ša ú-pa-] si-rú-ú-ni¹ pa-ha-a-
. (7) [. u-še-] su(?) -ú-ni išatam(?) ú-ša-
? . . . (8) 'a-du-ú-ni ša ki-i (9)
. ni-bi-it ib-ku-u² (10) [enuma eliš
ša dabibuni ina pan *ilu* Bēl] ina *araḥ* Visanni i-za-am-mu-
ru-ú-šu-[ni ina eli ša ša-bit-ú-ni šu-u³] (11) [uru-
gallû šu-tu idabub ma-a] dam-ka-a-ti ša *ilu* Aš-šur⁴ [ši-na
e-ta-pa-aš ina eli pi-li(?) *ilu* Aš-šur ša] (12) [.
ša šamē idagaluni a-] ya *ilu* Aš-šur *ilu* A-nim *ilu* Sin [*ilu* Šamaš
ilu Ramman tu-ša-al-li⁵] (13) [. ša
kakkuru idagaluni ina eli ša ištu libbi hursan]
il-lak-ú-ni? -ma? amelu mu-pa-si-[ru⁶] (14) [ša
itti *ilu* Bēl ana bit akiti la ú-šu-ú-ni] ka-bu-um
[.] (15) ri-

¹ Cf. Rm. 275, Obv. 7 and Rev. 6, and KAR. 143, 60.

² 'The wailing which they uttered.'

³ Cf. KAR. 143, 34, and Rm. 275, Obv. 4.

⁴ Cf. KAR. 143, 36.

⁵ Here the text corresponds to Rm. 275, Obv. 6, and KAR. 143, 37.

⁶ This line corresponds to KAR. 143, 38 f.

A reconstruction of the principal acts in this ritual may be made from the commentary, but it is perforce scanty and deficient by the very nature of our sources. The priests naturally choose only the salient features of the ritual for their explanations, and the acts whose meanings are explained are not chosen in the actual order of their occurrence. That is evident from the small fragment given above. Taking the large Aššur text as a basis of the sequence of the acts of the ritual, the following analysis may be made, but it only provides a defective substitute for the real ritual, which will undoubtedly be recovered in due time.

(1) Bēl is imprisoned in the lower world and the celebrants seek to bring him forth. A celebrant rides in haste to some kind of sepulchre (?). That means Nebo, who hastens to the lower world to comfort Bēl, held captive in the lower world. 1-8.

(2) Celebrants hasten in the streets crying, 'Where is Bēl?' and a priestess prays to the moon-god and the sun-god to restore Bēl to life. She goes to a gate, which represents Bēl's sepulchre. She probably represents Bēl's wife or his mother. 9-11.

(3) Watchmen stand at the gate of Bēl's temple, who represent the guardsmen of Bēl's sepulchre. 12.

(4) Celebrants lament, because Bēl was bound and slain, and because he descended into hell. 13-14.

(5) A celebrant (?) is clothed with . . . (?), which represents Bēl's wounds, by which he died; they are coloured with his blood. 15.

(6) A goddess (Bēl's consort?) descends to hell to be with him; some deity (Nebo? Bēl's son?) refuses to descend to Bēl, for Aššur (= Bēl) has declared that he should not be wounded, but he stands guard over Bēl's prison. 16-19.

(7) A head or effigy of a head is fastened to the door

of the temple of Beltis, Bēl's consort. This means the malefactor who was slain with Bēl, and whose head was hung on the neck of the statue of Beltis. 20-1.

(8) Nebo returns to Barsippa, which means that, after the slaying of Bēl, tumult and strife arose in the city. 22-3.

(9) Nebo comes again to Babylon to do homage to the dead Bēl and to behold the slain malefactor, who is symbolized by a swine. The malefactor has gone to the lower world with Bēl. 24-6.

(10) Celebrants go before Nebo; they symbolize the people who weep for Bēl. 27.

(11) A magi goes wailing before Beltis, who descends to hell seeking Bēl. The magi brings Bēl's garments to Ishtar of Erech. These symbolize Bēl's garments which were taken from him after his death. Beltis of Erech or Ishtar is here brought into the ritual from the parallel cult of Tammuz, in which Ishtar, mother of Tammuz, descends to the house of the dead seeking Tammuz. 28-30.

(12) Treasures are taken from Bēl's temple. This means that as his body was denuded of clothing, so also even his chapel was denuded of its adornment. 31.

(13) Bēl's *ser'itu* cloth appears in the ritual; this means the cloth in which he was wrapped in the sepulchre (? ?). 32.

(14) Milk before Ishtar of Nineveh is placed (?), which symbolizes his nursing by the mother goddess. 33.

(15) The Epic of Creation is sung before Bēl, prayers are said, and the celebrant cries, 'What was Bēl's sin?' This describes Bēl's unjust suffering and death. 34-6.

(16) A celebrant looks to heaven in prayer. This symbolizes Bēl in the lower world, who implores the gods of heaven for life. The Ninevite text, however, explains

the act as symbolical of the mother goddess, who prays to the heaven-gods for Bêl's resurrection. 34-7.

(17) A celebrant looks toward the lower world in prayer. This means that Bêl, who has been laid in a sepulchre (?) will rise from the house of death. 38.

(18) Some deity (?) refuses to go with Bêl to the house of sacrifice at the New Year's festival of Nisan, which means that Bêl bears the . . .? of the malefactor, who was bound and sits with him in the lower world. 39.

(19) Also Beltis, Bêl's consort, goes not with him to the house of sacrifice at the New Year's festival, and celebrants pray before Beltis, asking her to guard the temple during Bêl's imprisonment. This means that Bêl's wife rules the temple until his release. 40-1.

(20) Beltis puts on garments of mourning. This means that she cared for the wounded body of Bêl. 42-3.

(21) On the eighth day of the New Year's festival a pig is slaughtered; this symbolizes the malefactor concerning whom they question Beltis, asking who was this malefactor slain with Bêl. 44-6.

(22) Certain celebrants come. They seem to symbolize certain *attendants* (?) of Bêl who, when he was bound and wounded, [came to comfort him ? ?]. 47.

(23) The use of water in the ritual is now mentioned, the water is stirred up, made muddy, and poured away; the symbolic meaning cannot be detected, but the act refers to some phase of Bêl's wounding and death. 48-52.

(24) The *šer'itu* garment (in which Bêl was wrapped ?) again appears in the ritual in connexion with the water used in the ritual; these are said to symbolize Bêl's suffering. The ritual introduces hymns on the divine origin of water. 53-5.

(25) The next act is obscure and refers to Bêl in the sepulchre (?). 56.

(26) Celebrants run a race in the streets in frenzy. Here the ritual symbolizes a part of the myth of creation, having no relation at all to the death and resurrection of Bêl. The race symbolizes Ninurta (= Bêl of the Semitic Babylonian myth), sent to conquer the dragons, who returns to tell the gods of his victory, and the messenger who hastened to the gods with the glad tidings. 57-60.

(27) Psalmists participate in the race, carrying Bêl's relics plundered (from the temple ?) when he was slain. This is said to symbolize how the gods his fathers [permitted him to be bound and wounded ?]. 61-2.

(28) The messenger-god Nusku hastens past Esabad, temple of Gula. This means that the mother-goddess Gula sent Nusku [to tell the gods of Bêl's death ? ?]. 63.

(29) Bêl's clothing and sandals are brought to Beltis his consort. This means that Nusku (?) brought them to her, so that he cannot escape from the lower world. 64-5.

(30) A chariot and horses are sent out recklessly to the house of sacrifice, speeding headlong, without a driver. This signifies Bêl's disappearance. 66.

(31) A goddess goes out of the city weeping, which symbolizes the women who wept at Bêl's wounding. 67.

(32) The ritual now introduces a door slit with an aperture to let in the light. This symbolizes the door of Bêl's sepulchre, where the gods imprisoned him. But the gods at last break down the door, battle (with the gods of the lower world ?) and bring Bêl back to life and the upper world.

The colophon at the end of this tablet says that the explanations of the mystic meanings of these acts in the ritual are not to be read by those not lawfully initiated into the priesthood of this cult. The incongruous details

of the commentary render both translation and exegesis singularly difficult and hazardous. It is true that the text does not expressly refer to Bêl's death, but only to his binding, wounding, and confinement, and to his sepulchre. That is, of course, attributable to religious timidity.

Lines 57–60 seem to have some connexion with the Persian festival called *τὰ σάκαια*, Σάκαια ἡ Σκυθικὴ ἔορτή, 'Sakaia the Scythian festival' (Hesychius). According to Strabo xi⁴ the Sakai, a Scythian tribe, built a temple to Anaitis and the Persian deities Omanus and Onadatus, and celebrated yearly the sacred festival *τὰ Σάκαια*. But Strabo adds another explanation for the origin of the Sakaia in Persia. Cyrus, having made an expedition against the Sakai, and being defeated, conceived a wily plan to destroy them. Simulating defeat, he fled, leaving his camp full of provisions and wines. The Sakai pursued him, captured the camp, and gorged themselves with food and drink. Cyrus quickly returned, fell upon the Sakai, stupified and drunk with orgy, and utterly destroyed them. Cyrus, attributing the victory to the intervention of his national deity, instituted a yearly feast called Sakaia in memory of this day. 'Wherever there is a temple of this (Persian) goddess, there is instituted the bacchic festival of the Sakai (ἡ τῶν Σακίων ἔορτή), when men and women drink day and night in Scythian custom, toying with each other in lasciviousness.' Athenaeus, *Diplosophistae* 639 c, quoting Berossus, says that in the month *λῶος* (Macedonian), corresponding to the Attic month *βοηδρομίων* (September), or feast of the running, in memory of Theseus and his expedition against the Amazons, was celebrated the festival Sakaia, at Babylon, on the sixteenth day. At this time the masters were ordered about by slaves, and one of them governed the house, and was clothed like a king. This bogus slave-master was called *ζωγάνης*, *Sōganēs*, which ZIMMERN

identified with the Sumerian loan-word *sukallu*, messenger, viceroy. But Dion Chrysostomus, *De Regno*, iv 67, says that the ἡ τῶν Σακῶν ἑορτή, or festival of the Sakai,¹ was a Persian institution. At this time they choose a prisoner, condemned to death, and set him on the king's throne, clothing him as a king, and permitting him to rule the land, drink and misconduct himself with the king's wives. None might prevent him, but afterward they take him away, scourge and hang him.

There is much in the combined rituals of the New Year's festival and the death of Bēl to suggest that the Persian festival may be derived from Babylon. Berossus, undoubtedly the best of our Greek sources, assigns it primarily to Babylon, but he places it in the autumn, and apparently connects it with the Attic festival of the running as symbolic of Theseus's victory over the Amazons. The running in the streets of Babylon, and at Aššur and Nineveh, was a symbol of Ninurta-Bēl's victory over the dragons of Chaos. Now in the ritual of the New Year's festival of Nisan, on the fifth day, the king went to Bēl's chapel, where the high priest took from him his royal insignia, pulled his ears, and smote his cheek.² Here, at any rate, is the sure source of the temporary abdication and humiliation of the king, as described by Dion Chrysostomus in his account of the Persian Sakaia.

In fact, on the basis of these notices in the Babylonian sources and with the aid of the Greek accounts of the Sakaia, it seems probable that a minor aspect of the Nisan festival at Babylon consisted in a putting to death of a bogus king who was a condemned malefactor, and in a frenzied race in the streets; both of these acts seem

¹ Var. σακκῶν. A var. on the Athenaeus passage ἑορτὴν Σακαία has σακέαν, i. e. a form ἑορτὴ σακέα is presupposed.

² See above, p. 26.

to have been erroneously combined into one festival and imported into Persia. But the Persians claim to have derived it from the Scythian tribe *Sakai*. But numerous variants in Greek texts¹ as *sakkai*, *saka*, *sakea*, leave the impression that they have confused some Babylonian word like *sakku* with the name of the tribe *Sakai*. The well-known word *sakku* means a dumb or stupid person, but its application to a bogus king and malefactor in this festival has not been found.

In the discussion of this mysterious ritual of the wounding and imprisonment of Bêl, I have written in the conviction that the Assyriologist should confine himself strictly to his sources. His labour must be bestowed primarily upon a correct edition and interpretation of the text. The place of this ritual in the intricate system of Babylonian religion is within his province, and he is bound to undertake to explain its implications in that aspect. But writing now as an Assyriologist, with severe conception of his restrictions, the author refrains from entering into any discussion of the New Testament. In fact, he is not quite convinced that these sources, as presently known, warrant a discussion of these problems which at first thought seem to demand explanation. So many apparent analogies in the history of religion have proven themselves fallacious, and so many scholars have broken their strength upon the impregnable rock of truth, that the maxim *nc sutor supra crepidam* is particularly applicable here. The wider application of these texts is the affair of theologians. The above edition of the Bêl ritual aims at giving a dependable source.²

¹ See STEPHANUS, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* under Σακαία, Σάκαι.

² There is one striking parallel between these Bêl's mysteries and the ritual of the Christian Church in Holy Week. In the ritual of the New Year (see pp. 23 and 25) the Crown of Anu and the Throne of Enlil are veiled, and in the mourning for the dead Bêl (p. 54, § 12) the ornaments of Bêl's temple are removed.

In making use of this edition, the very large number of tablets cited necessitates a key to their place of publication. Following the system introduced by KING, and followed by DEIMEL in his edition of a composite text as known to him in 1912,¹ I have composed a table of the tablets, and one for the sources of the text.

K.	Place of Publication.
292	CT. 13, 6.
2053	KING, <i>Creat.</i> ii 59-60.
2107	" " ii 60-2.
2854	" " i 159.
3437	CT. 13, 7-9.
3449 ^a	CT. 13, 23.
3473	CT. 13, 16-19.
3567	CT. 13, 22.
3938	CT. 13, 3.
4406	KING, <i>Creat.</i> ii 54-5.
4488	" " i 185.
4832	CT. 13, 5.
5419 ^c	CT. 13, 1.
5420 ^c	CT. 13, 21.
6650	CT. 13, 9.
7871	KING, <i>Creat.</i> i 183.
8299	" " ii 60.
8519	" " i 165.
8522	CT. 13, 26-7.
8524	CT. 13, 12.
8526	CT. 13, 23.
8575	CT. 13, 12.
9267	CT. 13, 28.
10008	KING, <i>Creat.</i> i 187.
11641	" " i 192.
12000 ^b	CT. 13, 24.
12830	KING, <i>Creat.</i> i 163.
13337	" " i 166.
13761	" " i 164.
13774	" " i 190.

¹ 'Enuma eliš', sive *Epos Babylonicum de Creatione Mundi*, by P. ANTONIUS DEIMEL, S.I., Rome, 1912.

Rm.						Place of Publication.
366	.	.	.	.	.	KING, <i>Creat.</i> ii 56-8.
395	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 62.
982	.	.	.	.	.	CT. 13, 31.
2, 83	.	.	.	.	.	CT. 13, 19.

Sm.						Place of Publication.
11	.	.	.	.	.	KING, <i>Creat.</i> ii 51-3.
1416	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 55.

BM.						Place of Publication.
79-7-8, 178	.	.	.	.	.	CT. 13, 6.
79-7-8, 251	.	.	.	.	.	CT. 13, 20.
81-7-27, 80	.	.	.	.	.	CT. 13, 2.
82-3-23, 151	.	.	.	.	.	KING, <i>Creat.</i> ii 54.
82-9-18, 5448	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 34.
82-9-18, 6879	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 12-13.
82-9-18, 6950	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 29.
35134	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 7.
35506	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 46-8.
36688	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 7.
36726	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 8.
38396	.	.	.	.	.	CT. 13, 4.
40559	.	.	.	.	.	KING, <i>Creat.</i> ii 14-21.
42285	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 30-2.
45528	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 1-6.
46803	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 9-11.
54228	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 63.
61429	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 25-8.
91139	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 38-45.
92629	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 35-6.
92632	.	.	.	.	.	„ „ ii 22-4.
93015	.	.	.	.	.	CT. 13, 1+3.
93016	.	.	.	.	.	CT. 13, 14-15.
93017	.	.	.	.	.	CT. 13, 10-11.
98909	.	.	.	.	.	CT. 34, 18.

VAT.						Place of Publication.
2553	.	.	.	.	.	Unpublished.
9668	.	.	.	.	.	KAR. iii 118.
9676	.	.	.	.	.	„ iii 164.
9677	.	.	.	.	.	„ iii 117.

VAT.	Place of Publication.
9873	Unpublished.
9971	KAR. i 5.
10152	„ iii 162.
10346	Unpublished.
10579	„
10585	„
10592	„
10652	KAR. iii 163.
10663	„ iii 173.
10898	Unpublished.
10997	„
12951	KAR. iii 162.
Edinburgh Fragment—BL. Pl. IX.	

REFERENCES TO THE SOURCES

TABLET I.

- K. 3938 = Lines 33-42 + 147-62.
 4488 = 50-62.
 5419 c = 1-16.
 7871 = 33-47.
 Rm. 982 = 60-101.
 BM. 81-7-27, 80 = 31-56 + 137-61.
 82-9-18, 6879 = 112-36.
 35134 = 11-21.
 36688 = 38-44.
 36726 = 28-33.
 45528 = 1-48 + 130-61.
 46803 = 46-67 + 104-21.
 93015 = 1-16 + 143-61.
 98909 = 45-53 + 159-61.
 VAT. 9668 = 2-25 + 132-58.
 9677 = 53-78 + 79-103.
 9873 = 84-111.
 10152 = 1-18 + 52-80 + 140-9.
 10346 = 34-51 + 107-116.
 10592 + 12951 in break on 10152; Obv. II.
 10652 = 16-26 + 71-80.
 10997 = 50-68.

TABLET II.

- K. 292 = Lines 120-9.
 $4832 = 32-58 + 93-127.$
 BM. 79-7-8, 178 = 69-85.
 $38396 = 11-29 + 95-117.$
 $40559 = 1-40 + 100-29.$
 $92632 = 14-29 + 103-17.$
 $98909 = 1-6.$
 VAT. 2553 = 5-23 + 33-48 + 98-129.
 $9971 = 33-48 + 88-102.$
 $10585 = 105 \text{ ff.}$

TABLET III.

- K. 3473 = Lines 1-85 + 86-138.
 $6650 = 38-55 + 96-113.$
 $8524 = 75-86.$
 BM. 82-9-18, 1403 = 5-15 + 52-61 + 62-76 + 124-8.
 $82-9-18, 5448 = 64-72.$
 $82-9-18, 6950 = 19-26 + 77-84.$
 $42285 = 46-68 + 69-87.$
 $93017 = 47-77 + 78-105.$
 VAT. 10663 = 1-13 + 127-38.

TABLET IV.

- K. 3437 = Lines 36-83 + 84-119.
 $5420 c = 74-92 + 93-119.$
 Rm. 2, 83 = 117-29.
 BM. 79-7-8, 251 = 35-49 + 103-7.
 $93016 = 1-44 + 116-46.$
 $93051 = 42-54 + 85-94.$
 VAT. 10579 = 53 ff.
 $10898 = 39-54 + 105-21.$

TABLET V.

- K. 3567 = Lines 1-26.
 $8526 = 1-18.$
 $11641 = 14-22 + (128)-(140).$
 $13774 = 6-19.$

TABLET VI.

- K. $3449a = 53b - 72$.
 $12000b = 16 - 22$.
 BM. $92629 = 1 - 20 + 145$.
 VAT. 9676 = entire tablet.

TABLET VII.

- K. 2854 = Lines 1-18.
 $8519 = 74 - 88$.
 $8522 = 15 - 45 + 106 - 38$.
 $9267 = 40 - 7 + 111 - 18 + 124 - 38$.
 $12830 = 89 - 95$.
 $13337 = 78 - 83$.
 $13761 = 63 - 78$.
 $35506 = 14 - 36 + 106 - 42$.
 $91139 = 3 - 40 + 106 - 42$.

THE
BABYLONIAN EPIC OF CREATION

FIRST TABLET

1. e-nu-ma e-liš¹ la na-bu-u ša-ma-mu¹
2. šap-liš² am-ma-tum šu-ma² la zak-rat²
3. Apsū-ma⁴ reš-tu-ú za-ru-šu-un
4. Mu-um-mu⁶ Ti-amat mu⁷-al-li-da-at gim-ri-šù-un
5. mē⁸-šu-nu⁸ iš-te-niš i-hi-ku-ma⁸
6. gi-pa-ra⁹ la ki-iš-šu-ra¹⁰ šu-şa-a¹¹ la še'a¹²

7. e-nu-ma ilāni la šu-pu-u ma-na-ma

8. šu-ma¹³ la zuk¹³-ku-ru ši-ma-tu la ši-mu¹³
9. ib-ba-nu-u-ma¹⁴ ilāni ki-rib-šu-un¹⁵

¹ 45528, *li-iš*; KAR. 162, *mi*.

² 45528, *li-iš*; 93015, *mu*; KAR. 162, *zak-ru*. Here begins KAR. 118.

³ For *am-ma-tu*, KAR. 162 has *aṭ-na-tu*, dwellings, see I. 79 below. The word *ammatu* has the meaning 'forearm', and developed the meaning 'door sill, threshold', precisely as Heb. **תְּפִלָּה** 'forearm', employed there in the sense 'cubit', obtained also the meaning 'door sill', Is. 6, 4. The definition 'door sill' follows from the Sumerian equivalent *á-suḡ = idi uṣṣi*, 'arm of the foundation', V R. 20 a 18. *ammatu* then obtained the meaning 'home'. See also HOLMA, *Körpertheile*, 115-16.

⁴ 93015, *apsu-ú*; KAR. 162, *apsu-um-ma*. The Commentary, CT. 13, 32, begins here.

⁵ According to Sumerian thought, water is the first creative principle, and through its indwelling creative reason (*mummu*) all things proceed. *Apsū*, a loan-word from Sumerian *ab-zu*, 'house of wisdom', designates the ocean of fresh water beneath the earth from which springs, fountains, and wells derived their supplies. See the writer's *The Babylonian Conception of the Legos*, JRAS. 1918, 433-49. *Apsū* is employed indifferently for the ocean beneath the earth and for the personification of the ocean, the deity *Apsū* (never with determinative for god), and in Damascius's account of Babylonian cosmogony *Apsū* and *Tiamat*

FIRST TABLET

1. When on high the heavens were not named,
2. And beneath a home³ bore no name,
3. And Apsû⁵ primaeval, their engenderer,
4. And the 'Form', Tiamat, the bearer of all of them,
5. There mingled their waters together;
6. Dark chambers were not constructed, and marsh-lands were not seen;
7. When none of the gods had been brought into being,
8. And they were not named, and fates were not fixed,
9. Then were created the gods in the midst thereof;

are written 'Απασών and Ταυθή. See CORY, *Ancient Fragments*, 318.

⁶ *Mummu*, 'Word', the Logos of Babylonian thought, is the creative principle and messenger of Apsû. See ll. 30-1.

⁷ 93015, *mu-um-ma-al-li-da-at*; KAR. 162, -át at end.

⁸ 45528, *mu-ú*; 93015, *šu-un*; KAR. 162, *i-hi-ik-ku-ma*; K. 5419, *i-ku-ú-ma*.

⁹ *gi-pár-ra*, 93015; []-*ru*, KAR. 162. Loan-word from *gig-barra*, 'dark chamber'. It is invariably employed of sacred buildings, particularly of the rooms in the interior of the stages of towers. The ordinary writing is *gig-pár*, Br. 8934, but *gig-pàr* occurs, LEGRAND, *Temps des Rois d'Ur*, 337, 9; LANGDON, *Archives of Drehem*, 49, 10: *é-gé-pàr* was a cloister for nuns at Erech, CLAY, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, no. 45 R. 4. See for further discussion, LANGDON, BL. 109; LANDSBERGER, *Der kultische Kalender*, 74, n. 3.

¹⁰ 93015, *ku-zu-ru*, a better reading; KAR. 118 and 162, -*ru*.

¹¹ *šu-ša'-a*, 93015.

¹² *še'-e-ú*, KAR. 118, Obv. 5; *še'-i*, KAR. 162.

¹³ *še-um*, 93015; *zu-uk*, *ibid.*; KAR. 118, *ši-i-mu*.

¹⁴ 93015 and 45528 omit *ma*; KAR. 118 omits *u*.

¹⁵ 'In their midst', i.e. in the Apsû and Tamtu, fresh- and salt-water oceans.

10. *ilu* Lah-mu¹ *ilat* La-ḥa-mu uš-ta-pu-u šu-mi iz-zak-ru²
11. a-di⁴ ir-bu-u i-ši-ḥu⁵
12. An-šar⁶ *ilat* Ki-šar ib-ba-nu-u⁶ e-li⁶-šu-nu at-ru
13. ur-ri-ku⁸ ūmē uṣ⁹-ṣi-pu šanāti
14. *ilu* A-nu¹¹ a-pil-šu-nu ša-ni-nu¹¹ abē-šu
15. An-šar *ilu* A-num¹² bu-uk-ra-šu u-maš-ši-il¹²

¹ *u.* 'and', is inserted by 93015; 45528.

² Text from KAR. 162; KAR. 118 has šu-ha-pu-ú šu-nu *iz-zak-ru*.

³ Lahmu and Lahamu are the first deities descended from the Chaos. Damascius reports the tradition correctly, but his text (see CORY, *op. cit.* 318) has been corrupted as Δαχὴν καὶ Δαχόν for Λαχὴν καὶ Λαχόν; Lahē is the male and Lahha the female, and for these original (?) forms see Book III 125. For the formation cf. Almu and Alamu, father-mother names of Nergal, IV R. 21 a 45; V R. 21 c 25 f.; AJSL. 33, 188, 19-20. Lahmu and Lahamu have a double rôle in Babylonian mythology. On the one hand they are the first of the gods of order and ancestors of these gods, Book III 68, and they counsel their children against Tiamat, III 125. They, therefore, become father-mother names of Anu, CT. 24, 1, 15; 20, 9. On the other hand Lahama, Lahha, is a dragon of Chaos and belongs to the monsters of Tiamat, Book I 137; II 27; III 31, 89. Her fifty servants seize Innini at the command of Anu, *Poème du Paradis*, 235, 28. Lahha or Lahamu also became a demon, and is described as a sea-serpent of Ea, CT. 17, 42, 14-24; in another form he is a bird demon of a deity whose name is broken away, CT. 17, 43, 49-61; as demon of the water-god Lahmu is part bird with lion feet and is named *ipperu*, 'Calamity', CT. 17, 43, 64-44, 74. He is also a demon of Gula, half man and half dog, CT. 17, 44, 83-90. But Lahmu is also a protecting genius, and images of him adorn the gates of buildings, VAB. iv 222, 16; MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. 75, 24; BA. iii 266, 9. He is represented, on a gate, by Agu-kak-rimē, among the monsters of Tiamat, V R. 33, IV 50. The latter reference from the period immediately following the First Babylonian Dynasty proves that the Epic of Creation is at least as early as the age of Hammurabi. A hymn to Marduk associates the *Lahmus*, a general

10. Lahmu and Lahamu³ were brought into being and they were named.

11. For ages they grew up and became lofty.

12. Anšar and Kišar were created more excellent than they.⁷

13. The days lengthened themselves and the years increased.¹⁰

14. Anu their son, the rival of his fathers,

15. Anšar made Anu his first-born equal (to himself),

name for the monsters of Tiamat, with Ea and Damkina, BA. v 310, 37. An obscure reference to Lahama of the sea in PBS. x 113, 5. This first pair of deities waver between the old order of Chaos and the new order of the gods. In l. 78, below, they are the first of the gods, and inhabit the ocean. When the Assyrian scribes substituted *Ašur* for Marduk in this epic they replaced Ea, father of Marduk, by *Lahmu*, father of *Ašur*. See Book I 78, 83, 84. This substitution followed logically enough, for the Assyrian god *Ašur* had been identified with *Anšar*.

⁴ KAR. 118, *a-di-ma*; 93015, *a-di-i*. *adi*, pl. of *adū*. In any case *adū*, to which DELITZSCH assigned the meaning 'time', H. W., 24, does occur in that sense; *á-dú-a-bi* = *adá-šunu*, 'their fixed periods', said of the sun and moon, RA. 11, 145, 28, and THUREAU-DANGIN's note, p. 156. A derivation from *yadū*, fix, ordain, is possible, and perhaps more probable, in which case there is no connexion with Hebrew יְמֵן eternity.

⁵ Here begins 35134, KING, *Creat.*, ii Pl. 7.

⁶ 35134; 45528 insert *u*, 'and'; 45528 *ib-ba-nu-ma*; KAR. 118. *MUH* for *eli*.

⁷ This line is either omitted on 93015 or this text carried ll. 11 and 12 as one.

⁸ *ú-ur-ri-ku*, *ú-ùr-ri-ku*, 45528; 35134; *ú-ri-ki*, 93015.

⁹ *u-u-*, 45528.

¹⁰ On the use of the *piel* to express condition of the subject see BROCKELMANN, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, i 509.

¹¹ *num*, 93015; 45528; 35134; *nu-um*, KAR. 118; *nin*, KAR. 118.

¹² *nu-um*, KAR. 118; *ši-il-ma*, KAR. 162.

16. ù *ilu*A-num¹ tam-ši-la-šu u-lid *ilu*Nu-dím-mud²
 17. *ilu*Nu-dím-mud ša abê-šu ša-liṭ-su-nu šu-u⁴
 18. pal-ku⁵ uz-nu⁶ ḥa-sis e-mu-ḳan pu-ug-gu-ul⁷
 19. gu-uš-šur ma-a-di-iš⁸ a-na a-lid abi-šu An-ṣar
 20. la i-ši ša-ni-na⁹ i-na ilāni at-hi-e-šu⁹
 21. in-nin-du-ma¹⁰ at-hu-ú ilāni¹⁰
 22. e-šu-ú¹² Ti-amat ù (?) na-ṣir-šu-nu iš-tap-pu¹³
 23. da-al-hu-nim-ma ša Ti-amat kar-as-sa¹⁴
 24. i-na šu-'a-ru¹⁵ ki-rib an-duru-na
 25. la na-ši-ir Apsu-ú¹⁷ ri-gim-šu-un
 26. ù Ti-amat [šu-]ka-am-mu-[ma-at] šu-nu¹⁸
 27. im-tar-ṣa-am-ma ip-še-ta-šu-un [e-li-ṣa]¹⁹
 28. la ṭa-bat al-kat-su-nu šu-nu-ti i-ta-ṭil-la²⁰

¹ *nu-um*, KAR. 118; 35134.

² Title of Ea, as he who created man from clay. The name means *nu* = *amelu*, *dím* = *bunnānu*, *mud* = *banū*, i. e. *bān bunnāni ameli*, 'fashioner of the form of man'. A variant is *Na-dim-mud* = *Ea (ban) kalama*, CT. 25, 48, 17, and cf. Ea as *mummu bān kalama*, BA. ii 261, 5, and *ilu Na-mu-ud-mu-ud* = *ilu mušabni ameli*, CT. 25, 33, 18. See *Poème du Paradis*, 38.

³ Here begins KAR. 163.

⁴ KAR. 162, *šu-ma*; KAR. 163 omits *šu-u*.

⁵ *ka*, KAR. 118; 45528.

⁶ KAR. 118, 17, *ni*.

⁷ KAR. 162; 163; *pu-un-gul*.

⁸ *ma'-a-diš*, KAR. 118.

⁹ *nin*, KAR. 118; KAR. 163, *abē-šu*, 'his fathers'.

¹⁰ 35134, *du-ú*; *ilānu* (*nu*), KAR. 163.

¹¹ Niph'al of *emēdu*; cf. *Code of Hammurabi*, § 176, 80, *in-ne-im-du*, where it has the sense of 'to lie together', to unite.

¹² *ešū* conceals two roots in Assyrian; (a) *ešū*, to do evil against, destroy, rebel against, Arabic عَنْشَى; (b) to be dark, confused, Arabic غَمْغَمَ. Both meanings are employed in translating the Sumerian *SUH*. The meaning 'destroy' is documented in the Commentary, KING, *Creat.* ii 62, 34, *H.A-A* (= *ḥullukū*)-*HAB* = [*muḥallik rag-*]gi: *ešū rag-gi*; and in *kakku ešū ša ilu Bél*.

¹³ III² of *apū*; read *uš-ta-pu-u?* Text from KAR. 163, 7 and 118, Obv. 21. The sign at the end of 118, 21 is *pu*. LUCKENBILL reads

16. And as to Anu he begat Nudimmud his equal.³
17. Nudimmud, champion of his fathers was he,
18. Wide eared, the wise, mighty in strength.
19. He was made exceedingly strong, even more than his father Anšar.
20. He had no rival among the gods, his brothers.⁹
21. They were banded together,¹¹ the brothers, the gods.
22. They rebelled against Tiamat, and glorified their defender.
23. They troubled the thoughts of Tiamat,
24. With singing in the midst of Anduruna¹⁶
25. Apsû diminished not their clamour,
26. And Tiamat lapsed into silence at their
27. Their deeds were obnoxious unto her.
28. Their way was not good, for they had become powerful.²¹

ištabbu, I² of *šabā*, ‘they overpowered their guards’, but in that case *šunu* has no obvious antecedent; the same editor reads the doubtful sign *kiššat*, and EBELING treats it as an erasure, and derives *ištappu* from *šapāpu*. Cf. CT. 15, 5 ii 3!

¹⁴ *ka-ras-sa*, KAR. 163, 8.

¹⁵ *šu'aru* is probably a cognate of *šíru* (שִׁיר), strophe, ballad, both from the root *שָׁר*. See KAR. 158, Rev. II 39; and JRAS. 1921, 188 n. 7.

¹⁶ A title of *Arallū*, CRAIG, RT. ii 13, 3. This Sumerian term means ‘the abode’, a noun formed from *durun* with prefix *an*. A minor deity of the underworld is *Anduruna*, an attendant of Ea (*utukki d.Ea*), CT. 24, 2, 11. For the formation see *Sum. Gr.*, § 150 a. The text of KAR. 118 is assured by KAR. 163, Obv. 9.

¹⁷ The end of this line on KAR. 163, 10, [*apsu-*]ú, &c.; *apsā* 45528.

¹⁸ Last sign on KAR. 163, Obv. I.

¹⁹ Cf. KAR. 45, 17, *ša mariši e-li-ka*, and l. 37, below. Correctly read by EBELING.

²⁰ The verb is here derived from *atālu*, *eṭelu*, be manly; cf. *i-te-iṭ-lu*, KB. vi 292, 17. The root is entered *eṭelu* in the lexicons, but see l. 96, below.

²¹ Here begins 36726, a series of extracts from Book I; KING, *Creat.* ii, Pl. 8.

29. i-nu-šu Apsû za-ri ilāni ra-be-ù-tim
 30. is-si-ma ^{*ilu*}Mu-um-mu¹ suk-kal-la-šu i-zak-kar-šu
 31. ^{*ilu*}Mu-um-mu² suk-kal-lu² mu-ṭib-ba ka-bít-ti-ja
 32. al-kam-ma ṣi-ri-iš³ Tiamat³ i ni-lik
 33. il-li-ku-ma kū-ud⁴-mi-iš Tiamat⁴ sak-pu
 34. a-ma-ti im-tal-li-ku aš-šum ilāni bu-uk-ri-šu-un⁵
35. Ap-[sū] pa-a-šu i-pu-[šam-]ma *izakkar-ši*
 36. a-na [Tiamat] el-li-tu-ma i-zak-kar-šu⁶
 37. im-ra-aş al-kat-su-[nu] e-li-ja
 38. ur-ra la šu-up-šu-ha-ak⁷ mu-ši la şa-al-la-ku
 39. lu-uš-ḥal-lik-ma al-kat-su-nu lu-ṣap-pi-ih
 40. kū-ú⁸-lu liš-şa-kin-ma i⁸ ni-iş-lal ni-i-nu⁹
 41. Tiamat an-ni-ta i-na še-me-e-şa¹¹
 42. i-zu-uz¹²-ma il-ta-si e-li¹² ḥar-mi¹²-şa
 43. [mar]¹³-ṣi-iš ug-gu-gat¹³ e-diş-ṣi-şa
 44. li-mut-ta¹⁴ it-ta-di a-na kar-ṣi-[şa]
 45. mi-na-a ni-i-nu şa ni-ip-pu-şam nu-uš-ḥal-lak¹⁵

¹ So 36726, but 45528 omits *ilu*. *Mummu* is an ordinary word for 'form', which was personified as creative reason, and inherent in the first principle, water. *Mummu* in Babylonian thought was usually identified with Ea, the god of the Apsû, or with his son Nabû. The literature on this subject and a study of the theory of the *Mummu* as Logos will be found in *The Babylonian Conception of the Logos*, JRAS. 1918, 433-49. There the writer derived this word from *emû*, to speak, and this derivation was sustained by a syllabar which explains *mummu* by *rigmu*. See p. 74 n. 3. *Mummu* or 'word' then came to mean cosmic reason, and as such it was translated into Greek by *λόγος*. TH.-DANGIN, RA. 16, 166 ii 3, suggests that *mummu* is a loan-word from a Sumerian (hypothetical) *mumma* = *ummu* *ku*, wise. In this epic *Mummu* is the messenger of the primaeval water-god, and he belongs to the monsters of Chaos, who were said to have been bound and confined in Arallu or chained to the stars. Hence *ilu Mu-um* = *ilu Papsukkal* (the messenger god) in one version of this legend, and he is one of the seven Enlils who were subdued, RA. 16, 154. *Mummu* is the sea and home of Taşmet (consort of Nabû), EBELING, KAR. 122, 9. In the Epic of Creation *Mummu* is certainly not employed in a philosophical sense, but he is simply the messenger of Apsû.

29. Then Apsû, engenderer of the great gods,
 30. Cried aloud calling unto Mummu, his messenger :
 31. 'O Mummu, messenger, who rejoicest my mind,
 32. Come, unto Tiamat let us go.'
 33. They went and before Tiamat they sat down.
 34. They consulted plans with regard to the gods
 their first-born sons.
35. Apsû opened his mouth speaking unto her.
 36. Speaking unto Tiamat the clean one :
 37. 'Their way has become grievous unto me.
 38. By day I am rested not, by night I sleep not.
 39. I will destroy them and confound their ways.
 40. Let tranquillity¹⁰ reign, and let us sleep, even us.
 41. When Tiamat heard this,
 42. She raged crying out to her husband.
 43. In pain she raged, she alone.
 44. She planned evil for herself:
 45. 'How shall we destroy that which we have made?

² 45528 omits *ilu*, and reads *suk-kal-li*. Here begins 81-7-27, 80 ;
 CT. 13, 2.

³ CT. 13, 2, Obv. 2, *riš*; 36726, *Ta-ä-wa-tu*; CT. 13, 2, Obv. 2,
ilat [*Tiamat*].

⁴ CT. 13, 2, *kud-miš*; 36726, *Ta-ä-wa-ti*.

⁵ Here begins K. 7871 in KING, *Creat.* i 183, and also VAT. 10346
 (unpublished). K. 3938, CT. 13, 3, Obverse, carries the beginnings of
 ll. 33-41.

⁶ So VAT. 10346.

⁷ CT. 13, 2, *ku*.

⁸ So 36688, but CT. 13, 2, and K. 3938 omit *ú*. CT. 13, 2 omits *i*.

⁹ For l. 40 b, the Var. VAT. 10346 has [*mu*]-*šiš ni-hi-iš*, 'by night
 let us rest (?). The root is uncertain, hardly *háštu*, watch, do sentry
 duty. But cf. *mi-a-du-du* = *háštu*, 'he that stands sentry by night'.

¹⁰ *kálu* from *kálu* = *sakátu*, be tranquil, ZDMG. 74, 178.

¹¹ VAT. 10346, *še-mi-i-šu*.

¹² CT. 13, 3, K. 3938, Obv. 9, *ziz*; K. 7871, *MUH* for *eli*, but VAT.
 10346, *e-lu*; VAT. 10346, *har-me-ša*.

¹³ No sign before *mar* if one may judge from CT. 13, 2, Obv. 13 ;
 but KING, *Creat.* ii, Pl. 3, clearly leaves room for a word here. The sign
gat is Br. 2701.

¹⁴ 36688, *ti*.

¹⁵ VAT. 10346, *nu-hal-lak*.

46. al-kat-su-nu lu šum-ru-şa-ma i ni-[iš]-du-ud ṭa-biš¹
47. [i-]pu-ul-ma ^{ilu}Mu-um-mu Apsām² i-ma-al-lik
48. [rag-gu] u la ma-gi-ru³ mi-lik Mu-um-me³-šù
49. [a-]lik li'-at al-ka-ta e-si-ta⁴
50. [ur-]riš lu šup⁵-šu-ḥat mu-šíš lu şal-la-at⁶
51. [iš-me-]šum-ma Apsû⁷ im-me⁷-ru pa-nu-uš-šu⁸
52. [şa] lim-ni-e-ti⁹ ik-pu-du a-na¹⁰ ilāni ma-ri-e¹⁰-šu
53. ^{ilu}Mu-um-mu i-te-dir¹¹ ki-şad-[su]
54. uš-ba-am-ma bir-ka-a-şù u-na-şa-ku¹² şa-a-şu
55. mim¹³-mu-u¹³ ik-pu-du pu-uḥ¹³-ru-uš-[şun]
56. a-na¹⁴ ilāni bu-uk-ri-şu-nu uš-tan-nu-ni
57. id-mu-nim-ma¹⁵ ilāni i-dul¹⁶-lu
58. ƙu-lu iş-ba-tu¹⁷ şa-ƙu-um-mi-iš¹⁷ uš-bu
59. şu-tūr uz-ni¹⁹ it-pi-şa¹⁹ te-li'-e¹⁹
60. ^{ilu}É-a ḥa-sis mi-im-ma-ma²¹ i-še-'a me-ki-şu-un²²

¹ Here begins Th. 1905-4-9, 415 = 98909 in CT. 34, 18. VAT. 10346, *Dug-iš*.

² 98909, *ap-sa-a*. So perhaps KING, ii, Pl. 3. Here begins 46803 = KING, ii, Pl. 9.

³ 46803, *ra*. KING, ii, Pl. 3, *mi* for *me*, but VAT. 10346, *mu-u-um-me-şu*, which is important for the derivation, indicating a lost weak consonant before *um*, and proving the word to be Semitic.

⁴ 98909, *i-si-ta*. The interpretation is doubtful, and *li'-at* is not certain. For *esīta*, VAT. 10346 has *e-pi-ta*. 46803, *e-şı-[ta]*.

⁵ VAT. 10997, *şu-up*.

⁶ VAT. 10346, *ni-ḥi-iṭ*; see l. 40.

⁷ VAT. 10997, *ap-su-u*; 46803, *mi*.

⁸ Here begins K. 4488; KING, i 185.

⁹ Here begin KAR. 162, Obv. II and 117, Obv. I.

¹⁰ K. 4488, *an*; 98909 and K. 4488, *marē*.

¹¹ K. 4488, *di-ir*. For *edēru*, cling to, enclose, see JRAS. 1921, 178, 19.

¹² KAR. 117, *u-na-aš-şak*; K. 4488, *u-na-şak*.

46. Let their way be made troublesome but let us travel happily.'

47. Mummu replied giving counsel to Apsû.

48. Wicked and not favourable was the advice of his 'Mummu'.

49. 'Go, thou art able, even upon a gloomy way (go).

50. Mayest thou have rest by day and by night mayest thou sleep.'

51. Apsû hearkened unto him and his countenance brightened,

52. At the injuries which he planned against the gods his sons.

53. The neck of Mummu he embraced.

54. He lifted him upon his knees as he kissed him.

55. Whatsoever they planned in their assembly,

56. Unto the gods their first-born they repeated.

57. The gods wept¹⁶ as they hastened.

58. Silence reigned¹⁸ and they sat whispering.

59. The exceedingly wise,²⁰ the clever in skill,

60. Ea, who knoweth all things, perceived their plan.²³

¹³ VAT. 10997, *mi-im*; KAR. 162 ii 4, *an-nu-u*, 'this they planned'. KING, ii, Pl. 9, *ina pu-uh-ri-šu-un*; KAR. 117, 4, *ina puhru-uš-[šun]*.

¹⁴ KAR. 162 ii 5, *an ilāni*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* ii 6, *iš-[mu-nim-ma]*, 'they heard and hastened'. KING, ii, Pl. 9, *du-ul* followed by *ku-lu*, &c., l. 58.

¹⁶ The verb *damū* = *damāmu* occurs in SBP. 86, 46, where it renders Sumerian *še-du*.

¹⁷ VAT. 10997, *iš-ša-kin*; KAR. 117, *meš*.

¹⁸ Literally 'silence they observed'.

¹⁹ KAR. 162 ii 8, *na*; K. 4488, *it-pi-šu*; 46803, *te-li-e*.

²⁰ Cf. *atar-hasisi*. The reading *šu-tür* is obtained by combining KAR. 117, Obv. 8 with 162, Obv. II 8.

²¹ VAT. 10997, *mi*.

²² *meku*, 'plan', not 'muttering'. It denotes primarily a part of the body, the open jaw, gaping mouth, and is a synonym of *libbu*, hence also 'maw', 'belly', and by metonymy it also means 'thoughts', 'plan'. See PSBA, 1909, 113; HOLMA, *Körperteile*, 158; SAK. 180, note f; DELITZSCH, H. W., 407.

²³ Here begins Rm. 982, in CT. 13, 31.

61. ib-šim-ma uš-rat¹ ka-li ú-kin-[šu]

62. ú-nak-kil-šu³ šu-tu-ru ta-a-šu el-lum³

63. im-ni⁴-šum-ma ina⁴ mē u-šab-ši

64. šit-tam ir⁵-te-hi-šu şal-lil tu⁶-ub-ḳit-tum

65. ú-şa-aş-lil-ma Apsâ-am ri-hi šit-[tam]

66. ^{ilu}Mu-um-mu uṭ-la-tuš da⁸-la-biš ku-u-ru

67. ip-ṭur rik-si-šu iš-ta-ḥat a-ga-[šu]⁹

68. me-lam-me-šu it-ba-la šu-ú u-ta-di-[ik]¹⁰

69. ik¹¹-me-šu-ma Apsâ-am i-na-ra-aş-šu¹¹

70. ^{ilu}Mu]-um-mu i-ta-sir eli¹²-šu ip-tar-ka

71. [ú]-kin¹³-ma eli Apsî šu-bat-su

72. ^{ilu}Mu-um-mu it-ta-mah¹⁴ ú-dan¹⁵ şir-rit-su

73. ul-tu¹⁶ lim-ni-e¹⁷-šu ik-mu-ú i-sa-a-du¹⁸

74. [^{ilu}É-a]¹⁹ uš-ziz-zu²⁰ ir-nit-ta-šu²⁰ eli²⁰ ga-ri-šu

¹ KAR. 162 ii 10, *u-su-rat*.

² Text from KAR. 117, Obv. 11 and K. 4488, 12.

³ KAR. 117 omits šu; 46803, *ki-il*. Text from KAR. 162; K. 4488, *cl-lu*.

⁴ KAR. 162 and VAT. 10997, *nu*; VAT. 10997, *ana*.

⁵ This reading is required by the context; cf. K. 3650 ii 2 (ZA. 4, 33), *irihhišu-ma šitta*.

⁶ 46803, *tu*.

⁷ See for this meaning of *tubkīmu*, *tubkītu*, ZIMMERN, MVAG. 1916, 216.

⁸ 46803, *dal*.

⁹ VAT. 10152, *a-ga-a-šu*.

¹⁰ The last sign on 46803 appears to be *ik/k*. KING read *nam*. The form *utadik* I take to be II² of *etēku*, tear away. In Arabic this verb *hataka* has the meanings, tear away a veil, expose to shame, to dishonour. For the original sense, break, lacerate, see IV R. 29, no. 3, 5 and V R. 47, 49. *utadik* <*uttattik* is due to dissimilation of surds. EBELING reads *u-ta-ṭi-i* from *etū*.

61. He devised for himself a curse (having power over) all things and he made it sure.²
62. He made skilfully his pure incantation, surpassing all.
63. He recited it and caused it to be upon the waters.
64. He bewitched him in sleep as he reposed in a cavern.⁷
65. Apsû he caused to slumber, bewitching the sleep.
66. Of Mummu whose manly parts frightfully he severed,
67. He severed his sinews and tore off his crown.
68. His splendour he took from him, and he was dishonoured.
69. Then he bound Apsû and slew him.
70. Mummu he tied and his skull he crushed.
71. He fixed upon Apsû his dwelling.¹⁴
72. Mummu he seized and strengthened his bands.
73. After he had bound his enemies and had slain them,
74. And he, Ea, had established his victory over his foes,

¹¹ Restored by VAT. 10152. *Ibid.*, *i-nar-ma*.

¹² VAT. 10152, *e-li*. The text above has *MUH* = *muḥha*, skull. *elu* has clearly the same meaning. See also KB. vi 204, 4, *e-lu-šu-nu*, 'their heads'. This passage elucidates the origin of the preposition *eli*, 'upon'. Cf. HOLMA, *Körperteile*, xi n. 1.

¹³ KAR. 163 has the numeral X on the margin, i.e. l. 70 on that tablet.

¹⁴ Under the title Nudimmud, Ea is said to have made the sea his abode, *ibnū aps̄t šubat-su*, WEISSBACH, *Miscel.* 32, 25.

¹⁵ Sic! Read *u-KALAG* = *udannin* and cf. *uddannin markassi-šunu*, BE. 31, 35 n. 1, and *šibitta-šu udannin*, Book IV 123.

¹⁶ Restored from Rm. 982.

¹⁷ KAR. 163, Obv. II 40 omits *e*.

¹⁸ See also Book IV 123.

¹⁹ *ilu . . .* on Rm. 982. Cf. Book IV 125.

²⁰ KAR. 163, *za*; *tuš* for *ta-šu*; *e-li*.

75. kır-biš kum-mi-šu¹ šup¹-šu-hi-iš i-nu-uḥ-[ḥu]

76. im-bi-šum-ma Apsām u-ad-du-ú eš-ri-e-ti²

77. aš-ru-uš-šu gè³-pâr-ra-šu u-šar-šid-ma

78. *ilu*Lah-mu⁴ *ilat*La-ḥa-mu hi-ra-tuš ina rab-ba-a-te⁵
uš-bu

79. ina ki-iş-şı šimāti aṭ-ma-an⁶ uşurāti⁷

80. li'-ú li'-u-ti abkal ilāni ilu⁸ uš-tar-ḥi

81. ina ki-rib Apsi⁹ ib-ba-ni *ilu*Ašur

82. ina ki-rib elli Apsi ib-ba-ni *ilu*Ašur¹⁰

83. ib-ni-šu-ma *ilu*Lah-mu¹¹ a-ba-šu

84. *ilat*La-ḥa-mu umma-šu ḥar-şa-as-šu¹²

85. i-ti-nik-ma şir-rit Ištarāti

86. ta-ri-tu¹³ it-tar-ru-šu pul-ḥa-a-ta uš-ma-al-li

87. šam-ḥat¹⁵ nab-nit¹⁶-su şa-ri-ir ni-şı e-ni¹⁷-šu

¹ *kummu* has the special sense ‘chamber of Ea’, Sumerian, *ē-nun-na*, ASKT. 104, 24; RA. 8, 162, 13; and is ordinarily employed for the chapel where the rituals were performed, CT. 16, 36, 36; 38, 7; IV R. 18*, no. 6 R. 12. KAR. 163, *ku-um-mi-šu*. For *šup*, KAR. 163 ii 6 has falsely *ka*.

² K. 10008 in KING, i 189 contains a selection of lines from this Epic. Line 1 on K. 10008 = l. 76 above. See ZIMMERN, *ibid.* 223.

³ KAR. 163, *gi*.

⁴ Rm. 982 has *ilu*E-[a] after my collation, and KAR. 163, *ilu*Ē-a. For the Assyrian redaction which substitutes *Lahmu* and *Lahamu* for Ea (and Damkina?) see below, l. 83, and above, l. 10 and note.

⁵ Pl. of *rabbūtu*; cf. *ḥidūtu* and *ḥiddīti*, and DELITZSCH, *Assyrische Grammatik*, § 95.

⁶ Root *šu*, see LANDSBERGER, ZA. 25, 384; RA. 14, 166, 11.

⁷ Text from Rm. 982, Obv. last line and KAR. 117 R. 1.

⁸ i.e. *Marduk*, or in Assyrian redaction *Ašur*. *abkal ilāni* is the ordinary title of Marduk; KING, *Magic*, 12, 114; PSBA. 1912, 71, 5; Book IV 93. In ll. 81-2 the Babylonian version undoubtedly read Marduk, not Ašur.

75. And in his chamber he had become composed as one who is soothed,

76. He named it Apsû and they determined the holy places.

77. Therein he caused to be founded his secret chamber.

78. Lahmu and Lahamu his wife abode (therein) in majesty.

79. In the shrine of fates, the dwelling of concepts,

80. The wisest of the wise ones, the adviser of the gods, a god, was engendered.

81. In the midst of the nether sea was born Ašur. ~~lāhu~~

82. In the midst of the pure nether sea was born Ašur.

83. Lahmu his father begat him,

84. Lahamu his mother was his bearer.

85. He sucked at the breasts of goddesses.

86. A nurse tended him and filled him with terribleness.¹⁴

87. Enticing was his form, the gaze of his eye was brilliant.

⁹ See note on Book VII 83.

¹⁰ This line is omitted on Rm. 982.

¹¹ The Babylonian version has *ilu Ē-a* and omits l. 84; VAT. 10652 also *ilu Ē-a*.

¹² VAT. 9873, *har-šis-su*. *ḥaristu*, fem. part. of *ḥarāšu*, give birth to, Ethiopic *ḥarasa*, lie in child-birth, *aharasa*, aid a woman in child-birth, *ḥarsa*, child-birth; Arabic *ḥarasa* in *piel*, to give food suitable for a woman in child-birth. In Babylonian *šir-ri lu-ḥar-ri-ša ramān-ša*, May she herself (without help) bring forth a child, KB. vi 286, 19 = CT. 15, 49 iv 19, where the Var. in my *Poème du Paradis*, Pl. X R. 21, has [*še-*]*ir-ri u-te-lu-u ramān-ša*. *alitti ḥirišti*, the mother who brought him forth, KB. vi 286, 15; Pl. *ḥaršiti*, with *tarāti* (midwives), IV R. 58 iii 33 = ZA. 16, 180; *kima salḥirišti*, TH.-DANGIN, *Sargon*, 151. See also IV R. 29* 4 C Rev. I 2 and CRAIG, RT. 4 Rev. 8.

¹³ *tāritu*, fem. part. of *tarā*, to watch, tend. See ZIMMERN, *Hommel-Festschrift*, 217.

¹⁴ This line in K. 10008, 2.

¹⁵ So Rm. 982; KAR. 117 R. 9, *kat*. Note also the words *šamḥātu*, *šamkātu*, harlot.

¹⁶ Rm. 982, *ni*.

¹⁷ VAT. 9873, *i-ni*.

88. uṭ-tu-lat¹ ṣi-ta-šu mu-šir ul-tu ul-la
89. i-mur-šu-ma ^{*ilu*}Lah-mu³ ba-nu-u abi-šu⁴
90. i-riš im-mir lib⁵-ba-šu hi-du-ta⁵ im-la
91. uš-te-iš⁶-bi-šum-ma⁶ šu-un-na-at⁷ ili uš-ṣi-ip-šu
92. šu-uš-ku⁸ ma'-diš⁸ eli-šu-nu a-tar⁹ mim-mu-[ma]
93. la lam-da¹⁰-ma nu-uk-ku-la mi-na-tu-šu
94. ha-sa-si-iš¹¹ la na-ṭa-a a-ma-riš pa-aš-ka
95. ir-ba enâ-šu ir-ba uznâ-šu
96. šap-ta¹²-šu ina šu-ta-bu-li ^{*ilu*}gibil [it-tan-pah]¹³
97. ir-bu'-u¹⁴ 4-ta-ám ha-si-sa
98. ù enâ ki-ma¹⁵ šu-a-tu i-bar-ra-a gim-ri-e-ti
99. ul-lu-ú¹⁷-ma ina ilâni šu-tur la-a-an-šu
100. meš-ri-tu¹⁹-šu šu-ut-tu-ha²⁰ i-li-tam šu-tur
101. *ma-ri ja-ú-tu ma-ri ja-ú-tu*²¹

¹ KAR. 117, *la-at*.

² A verb *ašāru*, synonym of *eṭelu*, be manly, is required here. ZIMMERN happily compares *imeru alana ul ušara*, DHORME, *Choix*, 334, 7; and cf. also Arabic *qathara* in this sense. A parallel is *ultu ulla zakrata*, 'thou (Ašur) hast been manly from the beginning', BA. v 595, 25.

³ Rm. 982, Rev. 8 has ^{*ilu*}E-a; for this writing see STRASSMAIER, *Cyrus*, 168, 11.

⁴ VAT. 9873, *a-bi-šu*.

⁵ Rm. 982, *lib*; VAT. 9873, *tam*.

⁶ Rm. 982, *ta-ay*. For the root *ṣapū*, Arabic *ḍafaya*, see VAB. iv 359; *Ham. Codex*, ii 64. *uštešbi-ma*, of completing a building, MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. no. 2 iii 5. *Ham. Codex*, § 233, *uštešbi*, (His work he did not) complete well. HARPER, *Letters*, 283, 14, The service of the king *as-si-bi*, I completed.

⁷ Cf. ZIMMERN, *Ishtar und Saltu*, p. 18. VAT. 9873 has *šu-un-na-at ilâni*.

88. Virile became his growth, he was given to procreation² from the beginning.

89. Lahmu, the begetter, his father beheld him.

90. His heart rejoiced and was glad; he was filled with joy.

91. He perfected him and double godhead he added unto him.

92. He was made exceedingly tall and he surpassed them somewhat.

93. Not comprehended were his measurements, and they were skilfully made.

94. They were not suited to be understood, and were oppressive to behold.

95. Four were his eyes, four were his ears.

96. When he moved his lips fire blazed forth.

97. Four ears grew large.

98. And the eyes behold all things, even as that one.¹⁶

99. He was lifted up among the gods, surpassing all in form.¹⁸

100. His limbs were made massive, and he was made to excel in height.

101. Son of , son of

⁸ KAR. 117 R. 14, *ki*; *ibid.*, *ma-diš*.

⁹ Cf. *eli ilu Igigi a-tar milikka*, KAR. 32, 24, and for *atar*, Perm. of *atāru*, see VAB. v 279, 15.

¹⁰ KAR. 117, *da-a*.

¹¹ KAR. 117, *siš*. See Book IV 28.

¹² KAR. 117, *ti*.

¹³ Restored by K. 9873.

¹⁴ *ir-ti-bu-ú*, KAR. 117. Rm. 982 perhaps *ir-bu-u-[u]*.

¹⁵ Rm. 982, *GIM*.

¹⁶ i. e. even as Ea or Lahmu. Line restored by VAT. 9873.

¹⁷ KAR. 117, *ul-lu-ma!*

¹⁸ Restored by VAT. 9873.

¹⁹ VAT. 9873, *ti*.

²⁰ *Šatāhu*, Sum. *tug*, Syn. *eli*, CT. 12, 11, 22, is probably a denominative verb from *Šutāhu*, root *Šáhu*.

²¹ At the beginning *ma-ri ja (?)* on Rm. 982, but Eb. 117 *TUR IA-AN* and VAT. 9873, *ma-ri ja-ú-tu ma-ri ja-ú-tu*. *jautu* = *ilátu* (?); see p. 82 n. 2.

102. mari¹ *ilu* Šamšu *ilu* Samšu² ša AN.

103. la-biš me-lam-me³ eš-rit ilāni ša-kīš it-bur⁴

104. []-ha-a-ti ha-mat⁵-si-na e-li-šu kam-ra

105. ma šârê irbitti⁶ u-al-lid *ilu* A-num

106. la a-ma-a-ri-ši mil-li

107. a-ga-am-ma i⁷-dał-laḥ *ilat* Tiamat

108. -mi-i du-ul⁸-li

109. da-a-ri-šam⁹

110. li-mut-tum¹⁰

111. tur-ša¹¹ iz-zak-kar

112. [Apsa-am ḥar]-ma-ki¹³ i-na-ru-ma

113. [mar-ṣi-iš tab-b]a-ki-ma¹⁴ ka-li-iš tu-uš¹⁵-ba

114. ša pu-luh-tum

115. [a-di nu-te-ru gi-mil-la-šu] ul ni-ša-al-lal ni-i-ni

116. [in-na-nu im-ma-ḥaş-ṣu] Ap-su-ú ḥar-ma-ki¹⁶

117. ù *ilu* Mu-um-mu ša ik-ka-mu-ú la e-diš aš-ba-a-ti¹⁷

118. [ur-ru]-hi-iš ta-du-ul-li

¹ So Eb. 117 R. 24, but VAT. 9873, *ma-ri*; this text restores the line.

² Or *ilu-tu*? Then *ıautu*, Syn. *ilattu*?

³ K. 10008, 4, *mi-lam-mi*. Text from VAT. 9873 + Eb. 117 R. 25.

⁴ First sign on BM. 46803, Rev.

⁵ *ḥamtu*, *ḥantu*, occurs as a noun in BA. iv 520 R. 2, ‘fever’, and ZA. 24, 348; 31, 264, ‘summer’.

⁶ *IM-TAB-TAB-BA*. Marduk employed the *imḥullu* and *izzite šare* in his combat with Tiamat, iv 98 f.

⁷ Var. VAT. 9843, *ū*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *dul*.

⁹ Sic 46803, but VAT. 9873, *bi-ku ša gi-mil-[li]*.

¹⁰ VAT. 10346, *tu*.

¹¹ So 46803 and VAT. 10346. But VAT. 9873, *-nu-tu iz-zak-ru* (?).

102. Son the sungod, sungod of Anu (?).
103. He was clothed in splendour of ten (?) gods,
powerful was he exceedingly.
104. The loaded their fieriness upon him.
105. the four winds did Anu beget.
- 106.
107. disturbing Tiamat.
- 108.
109. for ever.
110. evil.
111. (*Unto Tiamat*) ? he related it.¹²
112. '[Apsu] thy husband they have slain.'
113. [Bitterly she wept] and she sat down as one
wailing.
114. terror.
115. 'Until we shall have brought about his revenge,
verily not shall we sleep.'
116. And now although they are slain, Apsû thy
husband
117. And Mummu, who has been bound, not alone
sittest thou.
118. Quickly hasten thou.

¹² Here one of Tiamat's host reports the destruction of Apsu and Mummu, but in the variant, 'they related', the whole troop of her demons seems to be indicated. But in l. 124 her informer is described as *ilu ellu*, perhaps *Kingu*. Possibly the gods themselves report the defeat of Apsu to Tiamat; the corresponding situation occurs in l. 56, where the gods of Chaos report their own plan to the gods whom they intend to destroy.

¹³ Text from KING, *Cr.* ii, Pl. 12, 2 + 46803. VAT. 10346, [*ha'-i-*] *ra-ki*.

¹⁴ For *bakû*, IV¹, see THOMPSON, *Reports*, 90 R. 17; KAR. 26, 26.

¹⁵ So KING, *Cr.*, Pl. 12 and VAT. 10346, but 46803 *uš-bu*.

¹⁶ Text from KING, *Cr.* ii, Pl. 12 + 46803 R. 14a. Text *ku*(?); read *ki*.

¹⁷ VAT. 10346, *aš-ba-ti*. Ll. 116 f. form one line on 46803.

119. [nu-ta-ar gi-mil-la-šu-nu] i ni-iş-lal ni-i-ni¹
 120. [tab-ku ma'-ni] hu-um²-mu-ra e³-na-tu-ú-[ni]
 121. [nu-ta-ar gi-mil-la-šu-nu] i ni-iş-lal ni-i-ni
 122. gi-mil-la-šu-nu tir-ri
 123. a-na za-ki-ku šu-uk-[ki-ši]
 124. [iš-me-ma Ti-amat]⁵ a-ma-tum i-lu el-[lu]
 125. lu ta-ad-di-nu i ni-pu-uš [muš-ma-hu]⁷
 126. : ilāni ki-rib [an-duru-na]⁸
 127. [. i]-taḥ-ḥa⁹ an ilāni ba-ni-[.]
 128. [im-ma az-ru-]nim¹⁰-ma i-du-uš Ti-amat ti-bi-[ú-ni]
 129. [iz]-zu kap-du la sa-ki-pu mu-ša ù [im-ma]¹¹
 130. [na-]šu-ú tam-ha-ri na-zar-bu-bu la-ab¹²-bu
 131. ukkin-na šit-ku-nu-ma i-ban-nu-ú¹³ šu-la-a-ti
 132. um-ma hu-bur¹⁴ pa-ti-ka-at¹⁵ ka-la-[ma]
 133. [uš-rad-di] kak-ku¹⁶ la mah-ru it-ta-lad muš-mahhê

¹ So 46803, but KING, *Cr.* ii, Pl. 12 has ul ta-ra-mi-na-[ʃi].

² K. 10008, *hum.*

³ Var. i. For *humura* see HOLMA, *Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Personennamen der Form KUTTULU*, p. 56. The line is restored by K. 10008, 5; see ZIMMERN, *l.c.* 223.

⁴ The speech in ll. 115-23 is, of course, spoken by one or all of Tiamat's host. The speaker seems to be referred to in l. 124.

⁵ This is KING's restoration. Read *Ti-amat ina Šemé-Ša (?)*.

⁶ Kingu? or Lahmu? The demons of Tiamat's host have not yet been created.

⁷ KING restored *śaśma* from iv 86.

⁸ Cf. l. 24. DHORME supplied *šame*, but the 'heavens' were not yet created.

⁹ Here begins KAR. 163. Rev.

¹⁰ Cf. ii 15; iii 19; iv 77. The old reading *immaṣru* adopted by DELITZSCH and again by EBELING has no philological defence. The usual translation with this reading is, 'they separated themselves, re-

119. [We will bring about their revenge] and let us repose.

120. Poured out are our bowels, dazed are our eyes.

121. [We will bring about their revenge] and let us repose.

122. take vengeance for them.

123. unto the whirlwind annihilate.⁴

124. Tiamat heard the words of the bright god.⁶

125. ' verily give ye and let us make [monsters].

126. the gods in the midst of *Anduruna*,

127. shall draw nigh against the gods

128. [They cursed the day] and went forth beside Tiamat.

129. They raged, they plotted, without resting day and night.

130. They joined battle, they fumed, they raged.

131. They assembled forces making hostility.

132. Mother Hubur, the designer of all things, = 113

133. added thereto weapons which are not withstood ; she gave birth to the monsters.

belled', but the verb *māšāru* has itself doubtful existence. It is said to occur in II R 19, 1, *gú gur-ru-uš-duğ-duğ gir-gal* = *mussir kišadati namsaru*, 'sword severing the neck', for which DELITZSCH, H. W. 422, and MUS-ARNOLT, *Lexicon*, 573, assumed *mus̄ir* = *mumassir*, and a root *māšāru*, sever, without any reason. A root *ešēru*, sever, alone explains the forms. The other examples of a root *māšāru* in the lexicons belong to *ešēru*, to outline, design. ZIMMERN first suggested the correct interpretation in GUNKEL'S *Schöpfung und Chaos*.

¹¹ Restored from ii 16; iii 20. On K. 10008 another text, *bi ap-ša-na la sa-ki-pa*.

¹² KAR. 163, *lab.*

¹³ *Ibid. om.*

¹⁴ Hubur is the world-encircling stream of salt water. This line is in keeping with Sumerian philosophy, which considers water the creative principle. Cf. *Babylonian Liturgies*, p. 115 n. 2.

¹⁵ KAR. 163, *kat.*

¹⁶ *Ibid., giš-ku.* Text from 45528 Rev. 4 = KING, *Cr. ii*, Pl. 4. Here begins KAR. 118, Rev.

134. [zaķ-tu-ma] šin-ni¹ la pa-du-ú at-ta-’a²
 135. [im-tu ki-ma] da-mu zu-mur-šu-nu uš ma-al-la
 136. [ušumgallē] na-ad-ru-tum³ pu-ul³-ha-a-ti ú-šal-[biš-ma]
 137. [me-lam-me] uš-taš-ša-ša-a i-li-iš⁴ [um-taš-ši-il]
 138. [a-m]ir-šu-nu šar-ba-ba⁵ liš-ħar-mi-mu⁶
 139. zu-mur-šu-nu liš-taħ-ħi-ħam-ma la i-ni-’u [i-rat-su-nu]
 140. uš-ziz⁷ ba-aš-mu⁸ mušruššu⁹ u *ilu* La-ha-mu¹⁰

1 KAR. 163, *uq.*

² Vars. *an-la'-u*, *ta-at'-u*; see iii 83; ii 21. HOMMEL, *Grundriss*, 132 n. 1, discovered the cognate *maltahet* (in Ethiopic), maxillary, teeth, jaw, see DILLMANN, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae*, 45. He also cited the Hebrew *malta'oth*. The Arabic root *lataq*, *ladaq*, wound, bite, is represented in Babyl. by *letū*, cheek, jaw, and *letú*, to lacerate, Syl. C. 65; CT. 12, 5 a 9; 15 b 45; note the piel part. *mulattā šakṣi*, He that crushes the wicked, K. 1349, 7 in WINCKLER'S *Keilschrifftexte*. *tus-lat-ti* (III^u) in KAR. 92, 22, *atta'u = alta'u > anta'u*. The form *tata'u* is probably an error for *atta'u* (so KING). On *atta'u* see HOLMA, *Körperteile*, 151, and for *letū*, p. 33, which he connected with Heb. *yid*.

³ KAR. 118, R. 4, *ti* and *pul.*

⁴ Cf. *i-liš* (Var. *e-liš*) *umassil*, IV R. 60* C 9 = B 31; *pikid-su i-liš ha-ni-šu*, entrust him to his god, his creator, IV R. 54, 44. Here begins CT. 13, Pl. 2 Rev.

⁵ 45528, *b1-25.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, *li-ih-har-[mi-im]*, ‘Verily he shall be banned as one in terror’.

⁷ 45528, zi-iz.

⁸ Here begins the legend of the Titans who were bound and chained to the stars by Marduk (Ašur in the Assyrian version). *Bašmu* probably represents Hydra. This identification is based upon the fact that Hydra was associated with the goddess of childbirth, Ninmah, Ninharsag, Nintud. Note that Nintud is described as a serpent from waist to feet, and her upper parts are those of a child-nourishing mother; *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 123. Now one of the Sumerian words for *bašmu* is *muš-šag-tür*, 'serpent womb', a title of Ninmah, JSOR. iii 15, 7, and in a list of these monsters *muš-šag-tür* replaces *bašmu*, ZIMMERN, Rt. no. 50, 3. If *muš-šag-tür*, a title of Ninmah, came to be employed for *bašmu*,

134. Sharp of tooth, they spare not the fang.
 135. With poison like blood she filled their bodies.
 136. Gruesome monsters she caused to be clothed with terror.
 137. She caused them to bear dreadfulness, she made them like the gods.
 138. Whosoever beholds them verily they ban him with terror.
 139. Their bodies rear up and none restrain their breast.
 140. She established the Viper, the Raging-Serpent and Lahamu,

'viper', in the ordinary sense, and for Hydra in astronomy, that only proves the influence of mythology and astronomy upon language. *mul Nin-mah* is identified with Hydra, KUGLER, *Sternkunde*, i 252, but in his comments on CT. 33, 5, 22 and 3, 21 in *Ergänzungen*, 28+67, KUGLER withdrew the identification; WEIDNER, H. B. 83, identifies *Ninmah* with the tail of *Hydra*; see also *ibid.* p. 69, and the astronomical name of *Hydra* is *mulmuš*, JEREMIAS, *Handbuch*, 247; KUGLER, *Sternkunde*, i 230, no. 6, Rev. 2. See iv 49.

⁹ *muš-ruš*. The identification of *musruššu* with a constellation is doubtful. The serpent dragon (head of a serpent, scaly body, scorpion tail, forefeet of a panther, and hind-feet of an eagle) on the walls of Babylon is called *mušruššu*, VAB. iv 86 ii 9, &c. See for reliefs of the *mušruššu*, KOLDEWEY, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, Abb. 32. This dragon persistently accompanies Marduk, see GRESSMANN, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, II, Abb. 98, and is repeatedly associated with his symbol on *kudurrus*, *ibid.* Abb. 102, &c. The *mušruššu* of the sea is mentioned, II R. 19 b 15; cf. Gudea, Cyl. A 10, 20, *muš-ruš-gim ki-ṣurra*, 'like a raging serpent in the abyss'. [For *kisurru*, abyss, Syn. *birūtu*, well, see SBP. 66, 14, and (*sur*) *KI-GAL* = *birūtu*, II R. 44, no. 7, 10.] Hence *mušruššu* is a sea-serpent and associated with Marduk because he had subdued this monster. ZIMMERN, KAT^s. 503, identified *mušruššu* with Tiamat, and Tiamat was identified with the Milky-Way, JRAS. 1920, 329–31, and Scorpio in the Milky-Way is *kabis irat tamtim*, TH.-D., *Rituels*, 138, 313. The *muš-ṣag-tür* (*bašmu*) and *muš-ruš* adorned the doors of the temple at Lagaš, Gud. Cyl. A. 26, 24. Therefore *mušruššu* = Milky-Way (?).

¹⁰ KAR. 118, Rev. 8. Here L. a dragon of Chaos, and cf. *Lahmu*

141. ugallum¹ uridimmû² ù³ akrab-amēlu (*girtablili*)⁴
142. u-mi da-ap-ru-te⁵ kulilu⁶ ù ku-sa-riķ-ku⁷
143. [na-]ši kak-ku⁸ la pa-du-ú la a-di-ru [ta-ħa-zi]
144. gap-ša te-ri-tu-ša la maħ-ra ši-na-[a-ma]
145. ap-pu-na-ma⁹ iš-ten eš-rit¹⁰ kima¹¹ šu-a-ti uš-
[tab-ši]
146. i-na ilāni bu-uk-ri-ša¹² šu-ut¹³ iš-ku-nu-[ši pu-
uh-ri]¹⁴

šut tamtim ša malū puluħta, GRAY, *Shamash*, 20 iv 3 (= i 38). Lahmu
(lağ-me) the male on the gates of Esagila, KB. iii 144, 50.

¹ CT. 13, 2 and KAR. 118, *ud-gal-meš* = *ugallé*, but KAR. 162, R. 3, *ú-gal-lum*, as in ii 28, *ú-gal-la*, iii 32 + 90, *ú-gal-lum*, great storm, angry spirit, PES. x 283, 36 = *úmu rabú*, KAR. 14 ii 13, where it is the name of a monster. *úmu* also means 'lion', and *ud-gal* = *uggal* = *uggallú*, great lion, so read, not *nergallú*, or *urgallú*. The ordinary word for Leo is *mul ur-gu-la*, but there is a possibility that *ugallú*, *uggallú* also means Leo here. This monster was represented on the doors of Esagila, KB. iii 144, 52. Leo or *ur-gu-la* is identified with *ilu*Latarak, CT. 33, 1, 8, and in lists of these monsters, where *ud-gal* is expected, there is *ilu*Latarak, ZIMMERN, Rt. 50, 7.

² *ur-idim-mu-u*, KAR. 162; CT. 13, 2, and 45528, *ur-idim-meš*. The plural in all these variants is erroneous. This monster is the constellation Lopus, KUGLER, *Sternkunde, Ergänzungen*, i 28 + 41; WEIDNER, *Handbuch*, 69.

³ So 45528. KAR. 162; CT. 13, 2; om.

⁴ *gir-lab-lù-gäl-lu*, cf. ii 28; iii 32, universally identified with the archer Sagittarius. He is represented in art as a scorpion-man with drawn bow, V R. 57; KING, *Boundary Stones*, Pl. 29, &c. The ordinary name of Sagittarius is *mul-pa-bil-sag*, CT. 33, 3, 33.

⁵ 45528, *tum*. A list of these monsters has *ú-mu* ša *pan bēli puluħta ħarbašu* . . ., 'The úmu who before the lord terror and woe . . . (causes)', KAR. 30, 8; *Shurpu* viii 8 (ZA. 30, 200). *úmu* (plural) also in ii 29; iii 33; where it is a collective or *pluralis majestatis*, and refers to the personified words of the gods (*cnem* = *amātu*), often called *ud* = *úmu*. See the article 'Word' in *Hastings's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

141. The Great-lion, the Gruesome Hound, the Scorpion-man,

142. The destructive spirits of wrath, the Fish-man and the Fish-ram,

143. Bearers of weapons that spare not, fearing not the battle.

144. Prodigious were her designs, not to be opposed are they.

145. In all eleven were they and thus she brought them into being.

146. Among the gods her first born who formed her assembly,

Here the wrathful word is represented as a primaeval monster and opponent of the gods. A constellation is hardly intended.

⁶ Var. KAR. 162, *ku-li-li*, but KAR. 118; CT. 13, 2; *kü-lü-gäl-lu*; but *kü-lü-lü*, CRAIG, RT. 56, 6. *iluKulili*, RA. 14, 171, 4 and *iluKulili*, CRAIG, RT. 29, 16. The fish-man is Aquarius, KUGLER, *Sternkunde*, i 261; *Ergänzungen*, 26+67; JEREMIAS, *Handbuch*, 117; WEIDNER, *Handbuch*, 72. For designs of *Kulili* see WARD, *Seal Cylinders*, nos. 657-61. This monster is mentioned in parallel lists, KAR. 30, 7; CRAIG, RT. 29, 16; 56, 6; KB. iii 44, 54.

⁷ Cf. ii 29; iii 33. But CT. 13, 11, 91 has *HA-DÁR-rak-ki* = *kü-dar-rakki* = *kusarakku* > *kusarikku*, loan-word from *kü-dár*, fish-ram, Capricorn. For the origin of this word see AJSL. 31, 283-4. The earlier identification with Aries was false. For *k*. as a constellation see II R. 47, 38, i. e. Capricorn. The ordinary name of Capricorn is *mul suhurmašū*, and this is the name employed in the lists, KAR. 30, 7 (with *kusarikku*!), ZIMMERN, Rt. 50, 8; CRAIG, RT. 56, 6; VR. 33 v 1. For designs of the Fish-ram see JEREMIAS, *Handbuch*, 107, fig. 80. The Var. 45528 has *gud-alim*, the name of Ophiuchus, WEIDNER, *Handbuch*, 113 ff. *gud-alim* is confused with Capricorn also in CT. 15, 42, below l. 12, and CRAIG, RT. 56, 6; 29, 16.

⁸ KAR. 162, *na-aš usukakki la pa-di-e*, *ibid.* 118, *pa-di-i*.

⁹ 93015 (= CT. 13, 3) -*na-a-ta* and *eš-ri-e-ti*.

¹⁰ Assyrian, like Hebrew and Syriac, forms the feminine of the word for 'ten' in the numerals 11-19 by adding the feminine ending *aš* > *e*(+*t*), hence **תְּשֵׁבֶת** *ešret*.

¹¹ 45528, *ki-ma*.

¹² 93015, *šu-nu*; KAR. 5, *šu*.

¹³ *šu-ut* is an emphatic form of *šu*; cf. AJSL. 31, 271 ff. UNGNAD regards *šut* as a plural, ZDMG. 69, 379 ff.

147. ú-ša-aš-ki¹ *ilu* Kin-gu² ina bi-ri-šu-nu ša-a-šu uš-rab-[bi-iš]
 148. a-li-kut³ maḥ⁴-ri pa-an um-ma-ni⁵ mu'-ir-ru-tu pu-uh-[ri]⁶
 149. na-aš⁷ kakki⁸ ti-iş-bu-tu⁹ te-bu-u¹⁰ a-na-an-ta
 150. šu-ut tam¹²-ha-ru¹³ ra-ab¹⁴ šik-ka-tu-tu¹⁵
 151. ip-ķid-ma ķa-tuš¹⁷-šu ú-še-ší-ba-aš-šu ina kar-ri¹⁸
 152. a-di¹⁹ ta-a-ka ina²⁰ puḥur²¹ ilāni u-šar-bi-ka
 153. ma-li-kut²² ilāni gim-ra-at-su-nu ķa-tuk-ka²³ uš-mal-li
 154. lu²⁴ šur-ba-ta-ma²⁵ ha'-i-ri²⁶ e-du-ú at-ta
 155. li-ir-tab-bu-ú zik-ru-ka eli kali-šu-nu *ilu* A-nu-uk-ki²⁷
 156. id-din-šu²⁸-ma dupšimāti i-rat-tuš²⁹ ú-šat-mi-ih
 157. ka-ta³⁰ ķibit-ka la in-nin-na-a³¹ li-kun [ši-it pi-i-ka]
 158. e-nin-na³² *ilu* Kin³³-gu šu-uš-ķu³⁴ li-ķu-u [*ilu* An-nu-ti]³⁵

¹ 45528; 93015, *ka*; CT. 13, 2, *ki*. Here begins K. 3938, Rev. 1.

² KAR. 118, *ga*. ³ 93015; 45528; *ku-tu*.

⁴ 45528, *ma-ah-ra*; 93015, *igi pa-ni*. ⁵ 93015, *nu*.

⁶ KAR. 118 R. 15, *UKKIN*. ⁷ 45528, *še*; K. 3938, *še-e*.

⁸ KAR. 5, *kakké*. ⁹ 45528, *tum*.

¹⁰ KAR. 118, *di-ku-u*, and CT. 13, 2 R. 14, *di-ku-ú*.

¹¹ Vars. 'to summon'. ¹² *ta-am*, 45528; 93015.

¹³ *ta-am-ha-a-la*, 93015; from *tamāhu*. KAR. 5, *ri*.

¹⁴ *rab*, i.e. *GAL*, 93015.

¹⁵ 93015, *lik-kat-tu-tu*. From *šakāku*, see PSBA. 1908, 266 ff.

¹⁶ KAR. 118 and 93015 have ll. 150-1 in one line.

¹⁷ *tu-uš*, 45528.

¹⁸ A mourner's garment in memory of the death of Apsū.

147. She exalted Kingu ; in their midst she magnified him.

148. As for those who go before the host, as for those who direct the assembly,

149. To undertake the bearing of arms, to advance¹¹ to the attack,

150. As to matters of battle, to be mighty in victory,¹⁶

151. She entrusted to his hand, and she caused him to sit in sack-cloth, (saying),

152. 'I have uttered thy spell ; in the assembly of the gods I have magnified thee.'

153. The dominion of the gods, all of them, I have put into thy hand.

154. Verily thou hast been exalted, O my husband, thou alone.

155. May thy names be greater than all of the names of the Anunnaki.'

156. She gave him the tablets of fate, she caused them to be fastened upon his breast, (saying),

157. 'As for thee, thy command is not annulled ; the issue of thy mouth is sure.'

158. And now Kingu who had been exalted, who had received Anuship,

¹⁹ *ad-di*, 45528 ; *KU* = *nadû*, 93015. KAR. 5, *ad(?)di*.

²⁰ *i-na*, 45528.

²¹ *pu-hur*, 45528.

²² *ku-ul*, 45528.

²³ So KAR. 118 R. 19, and cf. iii 102.

²⁴ *lu-u*, 45528 ; KAR. 5.

²⁵ *-ta-a*, 93015.

²⁶ *-a-ri*, 93015 ; *ha-i-ri*, KAR. 5.

²⁷ *A-nu-uk-[ki]*, KAR. 118 ; cf. CT. 13, 5, Obv. 11 = Cr. ii 42. For the various writings of Anunnakki see *Bab. vi* 106, and *E-nu-uk-ki*, CT. 25, 18 R. 8 ; *E-nu-na-ki*, RA. 13, 168. See note on iii 104.

²⁸ 93015 om. *šu* ; 45528, *šum*.

²⁹ KAR. 118, *i-ra-tuš*.

³⁰ *ka-at-ta*, 93015.

³¹ *la-a en-na-a*, KAR. 5.

³² *in-na-nu*, 93015 ; *in-na-an-na*, 45528.

³³ [*ki-*]*in*, CT. 13, 2 R. 23.

³⁴ *-ku-û*, 93015.

³⁵ This line on K. 10008, 7.

159. ina¹ ilāni [ma-]ri-e-šu² ši-ma-ta [iš-ti-mu]

160. ip-ša³ pi⁴-ku-nu *ilu*Gibil⁵ li-[ni-iḥ-ḥa]

161. gašru ina⁶ kit-mu-ru ma-ag-ša-ru liš-[rab-bi-ib]⁷

ú-kab-bit-ma Ti-a-ma-tum [pi-ti-iḳ-šu]⁹

COLOPHON I¹⁰

1. duppu e-nu-ma e-liš ri-eš ki-ma la-bi-[ri-šu šá-ṭir-ma]¹¹
2. duppi^(pi) *ilu*Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḳ-bi mar-šu ša Nā'id-
*ilu*Mar[duk]
3. ša ḥat *ilu* Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḳ-bi mari-šu ša Na'id-
*ilu*Mar[duk]

COLOPHON II¹²

1. duppu išten-kam e-nu-ma e-liš ul-tu eli [duppi]¹³
2. gab-ri Bâb-ili-(ki) ki-ma la-bir-ri-šù šaṭir-[ma]
3. duppi^(pi) *ilu*Nabû-mu-še-ti-iḳ-ûmi mar
4. pa-liḥ *ilu*Marduk ù *ilu*Zar-pa-[ni-tum ina šar-tu la uštešir-su]
5. ù [ina ?]¹⁴ mi-riš-tum la ikalli¹⁵
6. arḥu ajaru ḫumu 9-kam šattu 27-kam Da-[ri-ia-muš]

¹ *a-na*, 45528.

² *mārē-šu*, 45528.

³ *šu*, 98909.

⁴ *pi-i*, 45528.

⁵ *BIL-GI*, 93015; KAR. 5; *GIŠ-BAR*, 45528; CT. 13, 2. Here Marduk is meant. For Marduk = Gibil see REISNER, SBH. 64, 3 = BA. v 659, 26, *mu-bar-rā* = *iluGibil*, title of Marduk.

⁶ 93015 + 45528 om.

⁷ Cf. ii 52.

⁸ *gašru* is the most probable rendering of *IM-TUK*, but *kabtu* is a possibility.

⁹ Catchline on 45528. Om. on 93015.

159. Among the gods her sons fixed the destinies,
(saying),

160. 'Open ye your mouths; verily it shall quench
the fire-god.'

161. He who is strong⁸ in conflict may humiliate
might.'

Tiamat strengthened her handiwork.

COLOPHON I¹⁰

1. First tablet of Enuma Eliš, according to its original
it was written.

2. The tablet of Nabû-balat-su-iḳ-bi son of Nā'īd-
*ilu*Marduk,

3. by the hand of Nabu-balat-su-iḳ-bi, son of Na'īd-
*ilu*Marduk

COLOPHON II¹²

1. First tablet of Enuma Eliš, taken from upon a tablet
.....

2. a copy from Babylon, according to its original it
was written.

3. The tablet of Nabu-mušetik-ūmi, son of

4. worshipper of Marduk and Zarpanitum ; [In fraud
did he not edit it]

5. and in wisdom he withheld nothing

6. Month Ayyar, 9th day, 27th year of Darius.

¹⁰ From the Babylonian text 93015.

¹¹ See 'Syllabar in the Metropolitan Museum', JSOR. i 19 ff.; also
Colophon II 3.

¹² From the Babylonian text 45528.

¹³ Or *giš* [*li-u-um?*].

¹⁴ The preposition *ina* is suggested by CT. 12, 3 a 29.

¹⁵ Sign *KUL* = *kalū*, restrain, SAI. 6721. Cf. CT. 12, 7, Colophon,
ina me-ri-eš-ti la KUL, with *ibid.* Pl. 3, *ina me-riš-tum la i-kal-li* and
PBS. x 329, 25, *ina me-riš-tum la u-ṣa-bi*. *kalū*, to restrain, is, therefore
certain in this obscure passage.

SECOND TABLET

¹ K. 10008, l. 8, *Ti-a-wa-ti*.

² Restored from 98909 = CT. 34, 18.

³ *ah* is probably a preposition derived from *ahu*, arm, side; then 'for the sake of'. Cf. *ah kitti tarám*, 'Thou lovest the part of justice', RA. 15, 64, 19.

⁴ Rm. 395, in KING, ii 62, seems to have this line, but for Ea it has *iluEN*, i.e. *Enlil*(?). We have here a trace of the older Sumerian myth.

⁵ One expects *ba*.

⁶ Restorations in ll. 6-8 were made by KING.

SECOND TABLET

1. Tiamat strengthened her handiwork.
2. Battle she arrayed against the gods her offspring.
3. For the sake of avenging Apsû Tiamat did evil.
4. How she joined up hostility, unto the god Ea one revealed.
5. Ea heard of this matter,
6. Painfully he became faint, like one who lapses into silence he sat down.
7. The days lengthened and when his anger cooled,
8. To Anšar his father he pursued his way.
9. He went before the father his begetter, Anšar.
10. Repeating to him what Tiamat had plotted,
11. Saying: 'Tiamat our bearer has cursed us.'
12. She hath called together a host, angrily raging.
13. All the gods have turned away unto her,
14. Except those whom you created; they go at her side.
15. They cursed the day-light and at the side of Tiamat they go up.¹⁴
16. They raged, they plotted, without resting night and day.
17. They raised the standard of battle, fuming and raging.

⁷ VAT. 2553, *ma-har a-bi-ša*.

⁸ VAT. 2553, *-ta-ni*. Cf. Book III 73.

⁹ Here begins 38396 = CT. 13, 4; 38396, *ši-it*.

¹⁰ VAT. 2553, *mir*.

¹¹ *adī* means (1) 'up to and including', and (2) 'up to and not including'. i. e. all except. This second meaning probably occurs here.

¹² 38396, *ku*.

¹³ 38396, *-bi-ú-nu*.

¹⁴ Cf. i 128. Here begins 92632 = KING, ii Pl. 22.

¹⁵ 92632, *mu*.

¹⁶ 38396, *ni*; 92632, *bi*.

18. ukkin-na šit-ku-nu-ma i¹-ban-nu-ú šu-la-a-tum¹
19. um-ma² ḥu-bu-ur² pa-ti-iḳ-ka-at² ka-la-mu
20. uš-rad³-di kak-ku la mah-ru³ it-ta-lad muš-ma-ḥu³

21. zak-tu-ma šin-nu la pa-du-ú at-ta'-um⁴

22. im-tu ki-ma da-am⁵ zu-mur-šù-nu uš-ma-al-lu⁵
23. ušumgallē na-ad-ru-ti pu-ul-ḥa-a-ti ú-šal-biš-ma

24. me-lam-mu uš-taš-ša-a i-li-iš um-taš-ši-il⁶

25. a-mi-ir-šu-nu šar-ba-bi-iš li-iḥ-ḥar-mi-im

26. zu-mur-šu-nu liš-tah-ḥi-ṭa-am⁷-ma la i-ni'-e⁸ i-rat⁹-
su-un
27. uš-zi-iz-ma ba-áš-mu *ilu*mušruš¹⁰ ù *ilu*La-ḥa-mu

28. û-gal-la ur-idim-me ù *ilu*aḳrab-amēlu

29. û-me da-ap-ru-ti kulilu¹¹ ù ku-sa-riḳ-ku

30. na-ṣi kak-ku la pa-du-ú la a-di-ru ta-ḥa-zi

31. gap-ṣa te-ri-tu-ṣa la ma-ḥar-ra ši-na-ma

32. ap-pu-na-ma iš-ten eš-rit ki-ma šu-a-ti uš-tab-ṣi

33. i-na ilāni bu-uk-ri-ṣa šu-ut iš-ku-nu-ṣi pu-uh-ru¹²

¹ 38396, *a!*; 92632, -*ti.*

² 38396, *mu*; *bur*; both Vars. omit *ik*.

³ 38396, *ra-ad*; *ma-har*; 92632, *muš-mah*; 38396, *mušmahē*.

⁴ 92632, *at-la'-am*; 38396, *at-la'-ú-am*.

⁵ 92632, *da-mi*; 38396, *da-mu*; both Vars. *la* for *lu*.

^o So 38396 and 92632, but 40559, *ir* for *il*. For the change *l>r*

18. They have collected forces, making hostility.
19. Mother, Hubur, the designer of all things,
20. Has added thereto weapons, which are not withstood, she has given birth to monstrous serpents.
21. Sharp of tooth are they and they spare not the fang.
22. With poison like blood has she filled their bodies.
23. Gruesome monsters she caused to be clothed with terribleness.
24. She caused them to bear dreadfulness, she made them godlike.
25. Whoever beholds them, lo he is banned as one in terror.
26. Verily, their bodies reared up and none restrain their breast.
27. She has established the Viper, the Raging-Serpent, and Lahamu,
28. The Great-lion, the Gruesome Hound, the Scorpion-man,
29. The destructive spirits, the Fish-man, and the Fish-ram,
30. The bearers of weapons that spare not, fearing not the battle.
31. Prodigious were her designs ; not to be opposed are they.
32. In all eleven were they ; thus she brought them into being.
33. Among the gods, her first-born, they who formed her assembly,

cf. *bēli>béri*, *Amarna Letters*, ed. KNUDTZON, 286, 7; 15, 32. Also cf. *palasāhu>parasāhu*, EBELING, *Quellen*, 10, 58, and *dumaššar = tumaššal*, *Boghazkeui*, i 3, 61.

⁷ 92632, *dam.*

⁸ 38396, *i-ni'-im*; 92632, *i-ni'-ā*.

⁹ 92632, *ra-at.*

¹⁰ 92632, Pl. *mušruššē*.

¹¹ See note on i 142.

¹² K. 4832 = CT. 13, 5, *ra.*

34. ú-ša-áš-ka ^{*ilu*}Kin-gu ina bi-ri-šu-nu ša-a-šu uš-rab-
bi-iš ¹
35. a-li-ku-ut mah-ru pa-ni um-ma-nu mu-ir-ru-tum ²
pu-uh-ru ³
36. na-še-e kak-ku ti-iş-bu-tum te-bu-ú a-na-an-tum ⁴
37. [šu-u]t ta-am-ḥa-ra ra-ab šik-kat-ú-tum ⁵
38. [ip-kid-m]a ḫa-tu-uš-šù ú-še-ši-ba-áš-ši i-na ⁶ kar-ri
39. [a-di ta-a]⁷-ka i-na pu-ḥur ilāni ú-šar-bi-ka
40. [ma-li-kut] ilā[ni gim-rat-su-nu ḫa-tuk-ka] uš-mal-li
41. [lu-u šur-ba-ta-ma ḫa-ii-ri e-du-u a]t-ta
42. [li-ir-tab-bu-u zik-ru-ka eli kali-šu-nu ^{*ilu*}E-nu]-uk-
ki ⁸
43. [id-din-šu-ma dupšimāti i-ra-tu-uš] ú-[šat-m]e-iḥ
44. [ka-ta ḫibit-ka la in-nin-na-a] li-kun s[i-i]t pi-i-ka
45. [e-nin-na ^{*ilu*}Kin-gu šu-uš-ku]-u li-ku-u ^{*ilu*}A-nu-ti
46. [ina ilāni mārē-ša] ši-ma-ta iš-ti-mu
47. [ip-ša pi-ku-nu] ^{*ilu*}GIŠ-BAR li-ni-iḥ-ḥa
48. [gašru ina kit-mu-ri] ma-ag-ša-ra liš-rab-bi-ib
49. [iš-me-ma ^{*ilu*}An-šar ša Ti-a-ma]-tu danniš dal-ḥat ¹¹

¹ K. 4832 om.² K. 4832, *tu*.³ K. 4832, *puḥru*.⁴ K. 4832, *ti*.⁵ K. 4832, *tu-u-ti*.⁶ K. 4832, *ina*.⁷ Cf. I 152.⁸ See Tablet I, 153.⁹ K. 4832, Obv. 11. Cf. I 155.

34. She exalted Kingu ; in their midst she magnified him.

35. As for those who go in the front of the host, as for those who direct the assembly,

36. To undertake the bearing of arms, to advance to the attack,

37. As to the matters of battle, to be mighty in victory,

38. She entrusted to his hand, and she made him sit in sackcloth, (saying) :

39. 'I have uttered thy spell ; in the assembly of the gods I have made thee great.'

40. The dominion of the gods, all of them, I placed into thy hand.⁸

41. Verily, thou art exalted, O my husband, thou alone.

42. May thy names be greater than all of the names of the Anunnaki.'

43. She gave him the tablets of fate; she caused them to be fastened upon his breast, (saying) :

44. 'As for thee, thy command is not annulled ; the issue of thy mouth is sure.'

45. And now Kingu who had been exalted, who had received Anuship,

46. Among the gods, her sons, fixed the destinies, (saying) :

47. 'Open ye your mouths : verily, it will quench the fire-god.¹⁰

48. He who is strong in conflict, may humiliate might.'

49. [Anšar heard that Tiamat] was mightily working confusion ;

¹⁰ Or, verily, may it quench the fire-god ; cf. i 160.

¹¹ Text only on K. 4832, Obv. 18. Restored so by JENSEN, KING, and DHORME.

50. [sûn-šu im-ḥaṣ-ma ša-p]at-su¹ it-taš-ka
 51. [a-di-ir libba-šu] la na-ḥat ka-ras-su

52. šu ša-gi-ma-šu uš-taḥ-ḥa-ah²

53. ú tu-ku-un-tu

54. [kakka ša te]-pu-šu i taš-ši at-ta

55. [*ilu*Mu-um-mu ù] Apsû ta-na-ra

56. [ú-ša-aš-ki *ilu*Kin]-gu a-li-[ik]³ ma-ḥar-ša

57. e ta-śim-ti

58. [i-pul-šu-ma ma-lik ilāni] *ilu*N[U]-DI[M-MUD]⁴

69. -ta

70. ni

71. [An-šar iz]-zi-iš [il]-si⁵

72. [a-na *ilu*A-nim] ma-ri-šu [a-ma-tum i]-zak-kar

73. [aš-ṭu-ma a]n-nu-ú k[a]-šu-[šu] ḫar-ra-di

74. [ša ša-ḳa-a e-mu]-ḳa-a-šu la ma-ḥar te-bu-šu

75. [al-kam-m]a⁷ mut-tiš Ti-amat i-ziz-za at-ta

76. [lip-šaḥ] kab-ta-taš lib-bu-uš lip-pu-uš⁸

77. šum-ma]⁹ la še-ma-ta a-mat-ka

78. [a-ma-t]u-ni at-me¹⁰-śim-ma ši-i lip-pa-aš-ḥa

¹ Restored by DELITZSCH after CT. 15, 46 R. 21; Var. KAR. 1 R. 16, *pī-en-ša* or *uznēn-ša*.

² *Šahāhu*, Arabic *sahha*, pour out, in Bab., bend, be limpid. A man's head *išahhuh*, 'is weak with feebleness', CT. 23, 33, 22; 32, 8. Hence 'be faithless, untrue', *išahhuh*, *Bg. Keui*, i 17, 14. Syriac *sahīha*, limp. *šeri išlahha*, My flesh is flabby, KAR. 108, 11. Cognate of Hebrew *תַּחַז*. See the Canaanitish forms *ušhihen*, *ištihen*, &c., in BÖHL, *Sprache der Amarnabriefe*, 64.

³ Text *a-li*; JENSEN, to whom the recent texts were unknown, rendered *a-li* as a form of the verb *kū* and *mahir* as the verb *mahāru*, 'I am able to go against her'. KING regarded *ali* as the word 'where', i.e. 'where is one to oppose her?' With KING's reconstruction the reading *ma-hir-ša* would be preferable. For my restoration cf. l. 35 above.

50. [He smote his loins ;] he bit his lips ;
 51. [He was gloomy in his heart ;] his soul was not
 at rest.
 52. his crying faltered.
 53. battle.
 54. '[The weapons which thou hast made] verily mayest
 thou bear.
 55. [Mūmmu and] Apsū thou hast smitten.
 56. [She hath exalted] Kingu, *who goeth* before her.
 57. wisdom.'
 58. The counsellor of the gods, Nudimmud, answered
 him (and said),⁴
-
 69.
 70.
 71. Anšar angrily cried out,
 72. Unto Anu, his son, addressing a word :
 73. 'Harsh is this one, the cruel power of a hero.
 74. [Whose] strength is [pre-eminent],⁶ whose advance
 is unopposable.
 75. Go and in the presence of Tiamat stand.
 76. May her soul repose ! May her heart be glad.
 77. [If] she will not have hearkened to thy word,
 78. Speak *our word* to her. Verily, she will be
 appeased.'

⁴ The break in the sources at this point was estimated at only ten lines by KING, but it is probably greater. The text is next taken up by 79-7-8, 178, end of Obverse, which on this calculation would have seventy-five lines on the Obverse. The break contained Ea's refusal to meet Tiamat, although he had defeated Apsū and Mummu with his curse.

⁵ CT. 13, 6, 3. ⁶ KING's restoration. ⁷ JENSEN, *a-lik-ma*.

⁸ *napāšu*, same root as *rapāšu*; see BROCKELMANN, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, 231 (e). Cf. *mušappik kabitti mu-nap-piš lib-bi*, 'He who encourages the soul, and gladdens the heart', BA. x, p. 96, 4. See below, l. 99.

⁹ Restored by JENSEN.

¹⁰ I² Imp. of *emā*. The restoration is KING's, but doubtful.

79. [iš-me-e]¹-ma zik-ri abi-šù An-šar

80. [uš-te-šir]² ḥar]-ra-an-ša-ma ú-ru-uḥ-ša uš-tar-di

81. [iṭ-ḥi-ma]³ *ilu* A-num me-ku-uš⁴ Ti-ä-wa-ti i-ši'-am-
ma

82. [ul i-li'-a ma-ḥar-ša]⁵ i-tu-ra ar-kiš

83. [il-li-kam-ma šar-ba-biš a-na a-bi a-li-di]-šu An-šar⁶

84. [a-na Ti-amat ki-a-am i]-zak-kar-šu

85. [i-maṭ]-ti ḳa-ti šá ka-mi-ki ina muḥ-ḥi-ja⁷

86. uš-ḥa-ri-ir-ma An-šar ḳaḳ-ḳa-ri i-na-at-ṭa-[al]

87. i-ḳam-ma-am a-na *ilu* Ē-a ú-na-ši⁸ ḳaḳḳad-[su]

88. pa-ah-ru⁹ ma-an-za-za ka-li-šu-nu *ilu* A-nu-u[k-k]i

89. šaptē-šu-nu¹⁰ ku-ut-tu-ma-ma ḳa-l[i-iš uš-bu]¹¹

90. ilu áj-um¹²-ma ul¹³ ja-ar ki-[rib tam-ḥa-ri]¹⁴

91. ma-ḥa-ri-iš Ti-amat ul uš-ši i-[na napišti¹⁵]

92. be-lum An-šar a-bi ilāni ra-bi-[iš u-šib]¹⁶

93. [uš-]tab-il lib-ba-šu-ma [a-na *ilu* A-nu-uk-]ki iz-[zak-
kar]¹⁷

¹ Restored by DELITZSCH.

² Restored by KING.

³ So KING after IV 65. JENSEN, *iḳ-rib-ma*.

⁴ On *meku*, see note on I 60.

⁵ So JENSEN from III 53. Cf. SMITH, *Senecherib*, 22, *ul i-li'-u ma-ḥar-šu*.

⁶ For a restoration of lines 83-101, cf. also ZIMMERN's article, 'Marduks (Ellils, Assurs) Geburt im babylonischen Weltschöpfungsepos', in the *Hommel-Festschrift*, p. 224.

⁷ Immediately before this line ZIMMERN conjectures [*ana Ti-amat ki u-maš-ši-ru-ši ki-am ak-bi-ši*]. 'Unto Tiamat, when I left her, thus I said to her'. A tablet, first published by SAYCE in PSBA, 1911, 6, and now in the Royal Scottish Library, Edinburgh, supplies lines 85-92. SAYCE's fragment was discussed in *The Expository Times*, 1911, 278, and a later

79. [He heard] the command of his father Anšar.
 80. [He directed straight] (his) path to her; he pursued her way.
 81. Anu [approached] and he perceived the plan of Tiamat,
 82. [But he could not withstand her], and he turned back.
 83. He fled as one in terror unto the father, his begetter, Anšar,
 84. Saying unto Tiamat in this manner,
 85. 'My hand is *too weak* to bind thee by myself.'
 86. Anšar lapsed into silence, looking upon the ground,
 87. Moaning, and shaking his head at Ea.
 88. They assembled unto the place, all of them, the Anunnaki.
 89. Their lips were closed; they sat down moaning:
 90. 'Not any god proceeds *into battle*.
 91. From the presence of Tiamat not one escapes with his life.'
 92. The lord Anšar, father of the gods, sat in majesty.
 93. He pondered in his heart and to the Anunnaki said:

collation of the text was used by ROGERS in his *Cuneiform Parallels*. For the text see *Babylonian Liturgies*, Pl. 9. MUH-ja is still to be seen at the end of 79-7-8, 178.

⁸ ZIMMERN derives from našu, to tremble, and cites naš kakkadi, a syn. of kamāmu, in CT. 18, 26, K. 10014. The form unāši for unāš is difficult. Perhaps the same root in the form našū, exists. Cf. KÜCHLER, Med. 54, 5, libba-šu na-šu-u, 'His inwards heave', and BOISSIER, DA. 56, 7, šumma ku-li-li na-šu-u, 'If flies whirl in swarms'.

⁹ ru on KAR, 5 R. I

¹⁰ KAR. 5 R. 2, un. Cf. katam šap-ti-ja, IV 98. ¹¹ Cf. I 113.

¹² So KAR. 5 R. 3.

¹³ Ibid., la-a.

¹⁴ ZIMMERN restores Ti-amat.

¹⁵ So ZIMMERN.

¹⁶ Z. it-bt.

¹⁷ Here begins K. 4832, Rev.

94. [ša e-mu-ku-]uš ga-aš-ra mu-tir gi-mil-lu¹ a-bi-[šu]
 95. [šu-u] ha-la-aš tuķ-ma-te *ilu*Marduk kar-du
96. [*ilu*Marduk] il-si-ma *ilu*É-a a-śar pi-riš-ti-šu
 97. [il]-li-[k]a-ma² ak lib-bi-šu i-ta-mi³-šà
98. *ilu*Marduk ṭe-mi⁴ mil-ka še-mi abi-ka
 99. at-ta-ma ma-ri⁵ mu-nap-pi-šu lib-bi-šu
100. mut-ti-iš An-śar kit-ru-bi-iš⁷ ṭi-ḥi-e-ma⁸
 101. [i-pu]-uš pi-i-ka⁹ i-zu-za¹⁰ e-ma-ru-uk-ka¹¹ ni-i-hu¹²
102. iḥ-du-ma be-lum a-na a-ma-tum a-bi-šu
 103. it-ḥi-e-ma it-ta-zī-iz ma-ḥa-ri-iš¹³ An-śar
 104. i-mur-šu-ma An-śar lib-ba-šu tu-ub-ba-a-ti¹⁴ im-la¹⁵
105. iš-ši-ik šap¹⁶ti-šu a-di-ra-šu ut-te-is-si¹⁷
106. [An-śar] la šuk-tu-mat¹⁸ pi-ta¹⁹ šap-tu-uk²⁰
 107. lu-ul-lik-ma lu²¹-sa-am-ṣa-a ma-la lib-bi-ka
108. [An-śar] la šuk-tu-mat pi-ta²² šap²³-tu-uk
109. [lu-ul-]lik-ma lu-ṣa-am-ṣa-a ma-la lib-bi-ka
110. ái-ú zik-ri²⁴ ta-ḥa-za-šu u-še-ṣi-ka²⁵
- ¹ K. 38396, Rev. 1. The name of Marduk taken from this text in CT. 25, 47, 16 is *mu-tir gi-mil abi-[šu]*. Cf. also II 74. ZIMMERN reads *a-[na na-a-ṣi]* at the end.
- ² VAT. 2553+KAR. 5 R. 11. The line occurs on K. 10008, 9.
- ³ K. 4832, *me.* ⁴ VAT. 2553+KAR. 5 R. 12.
- ⁵ KAR. 5, *ru.*
- ⁶ One of the titles of Marduk, CT. 25, 47, 18. ⁷ K. 4832, *bīš.*
- ⁸ 40559 (KING, Cr. ii, Pl. 18), *i-ḥi-ma.* The beginning of this line is restored by VAT. 2553.

94. 'He whose strength is mighty will be the avenger of his father.

95. *He* is the scourge of conflict, even the valiant Marduk.'

96. Ea summoned Marduk to the place of his counsel.

97. When he came he spoke to him according to his heart.

98. ¶ O Marduk consider a plan; hear thou thy father;

99. Thou art my son, "He that gladdens his heart" (is thy name).⁶

100. Into the presence of Anšar approach in reverence.

101. Speak and stand forth; when he beholds thee he will be comforted.'

102. The lord rejoiced at the word of his father,

103. He approached and stood before Anšar.

104. Anšar beheld him and his heart was filled with happiness.

105. He kissed his lips causing his fear to be far away.

106. 'Anšar, remain not dumb; open thy lips.

107. Verily I will go; I will cause to be attained the fulness of thy heart.

108. O Anšar mayest thou not remain dumb, open thy lips.

109. Verily I will go, I will cause to be attained the fulness of thy heart.

110. What man is it who has brought battle against thee?'

⁹ Restored by VAT. 2553.

¹⁰ 38396, *uz.*

¹¹ K. 4832, om. *ka.*

¹² K. 4832; *ni-iḥ-ha*; 40559, *ni-i-hu.*

¹³ 39396; K. 4832, *riš.*

¹⁴ 40559, *-ba-ta.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *-li.*

¹⁶ 40559, *ša-ap.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, *-su.*

¹⁸ VAT. 10585, *šu-uk-tu-ma-at.*

¹⁹ K. 4832; 38396, *-ti.* VAT. 10585, *pi-i-ti.*

²⁰ 38396, *ša-ap-tu-uk*; K. 4832, *šap-tuk.*

²¹ VAT. 2553, *lu-ū.*

²² Vars. *ti.*

²³ 38396, *ša-ap.*

²⁴ VAT. 10585, *zi-ik-ru*; 2553, *zik-ru.*

²⁵ 40559, *si-ma.*

111. [ma-ri]¹ Tiamat ša si-in-ni-ša-at² ja-ar-ka i-na
kak-ku³
112. [a-bi] ba-nu-ú⁴ hi-di⁵ ù šu-li-il⁶
113. ki-ša-ad Tiamat ur-ru-hi-iš ta-kab-ba-as at-ta
114. [a-bi] ba-nu-ú hi-di⁵ ù šu-li-il⁶
115. [i-sid]⁷ Tiamat ur-ru-hi-iš ta-kab-ba-as at-ta
116. ma-ri⁸ mu-du-ú gim-ri uz-nu⁹
117. [Tiamat] šu-up-ši-ih¹⁰ i-na te-e-ka¹¹ el-lu¹²
118. [*iṣn*narka]bat¹³ ūmē ur-ru-hi-iš¹⁴ šu-tar-di-ma
119. [ri-ṣu]-uš-šu¹⁵ la ut-tak-ka-šu¹⁶ te-e-ri¹⁷ áṛ-ka-niš¹⁸
120. [ih-du-ma] be-lum¹⁹ a-na²⁰ a-mat a-bi-šu
121. [e]-li-iš²¹ līb²²-ba-šu-ma a-na a-bi-šu²³ i-zak-kar²⁴
122. [*bc*-]lum²⁵ ilāni ši-mat²⁶ ilāni rabūti
123. šum-ma-ma ana-ku²⁷ mu-tir gi-mil-li-ku-ma
124. a-kam-me Tiamat-ma²⁹ ú-bal-laṭ ka-a-šu-un
125. šuk-na-ma pu-uh³⁰ra šu-te-ra i-ba-a³¹ šim-ti³²

¹ Anšar addresses Marduk as 'my son' in l. 116 below. But Ea is the father of Marduk and son of Anšar. The word *māru* is employed in a loose sense here. Note that Marduk is also called *son* of Laḥmu and Laḥamu, III 55.

² A noun employed as a predicate has the construct form, hence -ša-tum, 38396 is not good syntax. VAT. 2553, *sin-niš-šat*.

³ K. 4832, *GIŠ-KU*.

⁴ So VAT. 2553.

⁵ VAT. 10585, *ḥu-ú-du*.

⁶ K. 4832, *lil*.

⁷ Cf. IV 129.

⁸ VAT. 2553, *ma-a-ru*.

⁹ K. 4832, *gi-mir uz-ni*.

¹⁰ VAT. 2553, *šup-ši-ḥa*.

¹¹ 38396, *ki*.

¹² K. 4832, *li*.

¹³ VAT. 2553 has after the break *UD-MEŠ*, EBELING, *Weltschöpfungs-lied*, 32. At the end of the break EBELING saw a sign which resembled  and he restored *isunarkabat*, for which cf. IV 50. The sign may possibly be  (*uh*), which would impose the reading [*u-rujuh*].

¹⁴ VAT. 2553, *hiš*.

¹⁵ So VAT. 2553. EBELING restores *pa-nu-uš-šu*, and derives *utlakkašu*

111. 'My son, it is Tiamat who is a woman ; she will come against thee with weapons.'
112. 'My father, creator, rejoice and be glad.'
113. The neck of Tiamat straightway shalt thou tread upon.
114. *My father, creator, rejoice and be glad.*
115. *The hinder parts of Tiamat straightway shalt thou tread upon.*
116. 'My son, wise in the totality of understanding,
117. Cause [Tiamat] to cease with thy pure incantation.
118. The chariot of storms quickly drive.
119. Her [helpers] will not *tarry for her* ; turn (her) back.'
120. The lord rejoiced at the command of his father.
121. His heart exulted as he spoke unto his father ;
122. 'Lord of the gods, Destiny of the great gods,
123. If I, your avenger,²⁸
124. Bind Tiamat and keep you alive,
125. Convene the assembly, announce again²³ my fate.

from *ekēšu*, drive out, cf. IV², Prt. *littakiš*, ZIMMERN, *Shurpu*, iv 66 and p. 56. He translates 'sein Antlitz (?) werde nicht vertrieben', which is not convincing. My restoration is suggested by IV 107 and *uttakka-*
šu (*ša*) is explained as II² of *wakū*, wait for, protect, Arabic *yakīja*. Cf. *ana sit pi-ja utaggā*, 'O wait upon my command', Imp. II², Mas. Pl., KAR, 38, 10.

²⁸ VAT. 2553; 92632, *ša*.

²⁷ Sic! Imp. Fem. for *te-ir*.

¹⁸ VAT. 2553, *ar-ka-nu-us*; K. 4832, *ar-ka-niš*.

¹⁹ VAT. 2553, *li*.

²⁰ K. 4832, *ina*. Cf. above, I. 102.

²¹ *elēšu*, see VAB. iv 314.

²² K. 292 (= CT. 13, 6) begins here and has *lib-ba-šū*.

²³ K. 4832, *AD-šū*.

²⁴ Last word on the edge of 38396.

²⁵ So apparently K. 292, but VAT. 2553 *banū*, i.e. *KAK*. Read *ba-num* (?), and for *LUM* (*nu, num*) see *Vocabulary Scheil*, 46.

²⁶ 40559, *NAM-MEŠ*.

²⁷ 40559, *a-na-ku*.

²⁸ Cf. III 58.

²⁹ 40559, *-am-ma*.

³⁰ 40559, *ūh*.

³¹ *Ibid.*, *šu-te-ir ba'-a*.

³² *Ibid.*, *tum*.

³³ *šúlera*, a helping verb, Imp. of *yatāru*. For this helping verb

126. ina Ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki¹ mit-ḥa-riš² ḥa-diš² tiš²-
ba-ma
127. ip-šu pi-ja ki-ma ka³-tu-nu-ma ši-ma-ta³ lu-ši-im
128. la ut-tak-kar mim⁴mu-u a-ban-nu-u a-na-ku
129. ái i-tür ái i⁵-in-nin-na-a se-kar šap⁶-ti-ja

ilu An-šar pa-a-šu i-pu-šam-ma

COLOPHON I⁷

[duppu] 2-kam e-nu-ma-e-liš ki-i pi-i [duppi]
. gab-ri *mat* Aššurki

COLOPHON II⁸

[ki-ma la-bi-ri]-šu ša-ṭir-ma barim duppi *ilu*Nabû-
ahe-iddina
[māri-šu ša] Eṭir-*ilu*Bêl mar *amel*šangu *ilu*Maš [ina
mi-riš-tum] la ikalli

TABLET III

1. An-šar pa-a-šu i-pu-šam-ma⁹

2. a-na *ilu*Ga-ga¹⁰ sukkalli-šu a-ma-tu i-zak-kar

cf. *kūn kāti enū uttiru*, 'He who changed the agreement repeatedly', KNUDTZON, *Gebete*, 148 R. 7. *luškun luttir*, AJSL. vol. 28, 221, 46. *šutéra* may be equally well III^{II} of *tāru*, also a helping verb. Cf. *itir inah-ma*, 'It fell to ruins again', MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. 51 II 20. *ibā. ba'*, Imp. of *nabā*. VAT. 2553, *ib-ba-a*.

¹ 40559, *kam*.

² *Ibid.*, *ri-iš*, *di-iš*, and *ti-iš*.

³ *Ibid.*, *ka-a*; *tum*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *mi-im*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *om.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, *ša-ap*.

⁷ From the Assyrian tablet K. 292.

⁸ From the Babylonian tablet 40559.

⁹ Text from KAR. 173 and K. 3473 (CT. 13, 7).

126. In Ubšukkinaku seat yourselves together gladly.

127. If my mouth be opened may I decree fates even as you,

128. And whatsoever I create shall not be changed.

129. May the speech of my lips not return and be made of no avail.'

Anšar opened his mouth.

COLOPHON I⁷

2. Second tablet of Enuma Eliš according to a tablet of

3. a copy from Aššur.

COLOPHON II⁸

2. According to its original it was written. The tablet of Nabû-ahê-iddina,

3. Son of Etir-bel, son of the priest of Maš. In wilfulness he withdraws nothing.

TABLET III

1. Anšar opened his mouth

2. And unto Gaga his messenger he addressed a word :

¹⁰ Gaga messenger of Anšar in the third book of *enuma eliš* is mentioned in a ritual with *ilu*Ašur, Bu. 91-5-9, 104, ZIMMERN, *Neujahrsfest*¹, p. 131. The ritual introduces these deities of the myth of Creation so as to interpret certain aspects of the service as having mystic reference to the Epic of Creation. Among the gods whom Senecherib caused to be represented upon a bronze door of the temple of *Bit akit šéri* in the scene of the conflict of Ašur and Tiamat is *Gaga*, K. 1356, R. 11 in MEISSNER-ROST, *Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, p. 100. In the *Chicago Syllabary*, 26, *Gaga* = Pap-sukkal, i.e. general name of a messenger god. But CT. 24, 20, 21 *Gaga* = Ninsubur, messenger of Anu. He is mentioned with Ninurta (MAŠ) among the seven gods *mārē napišti?*

3. *ilu*Ga-ga suk-kal-lum¹ mu-ṭib ka-bít-ti-ja
 4. aš-riš *ilu*Lah-mu *ilat*La-ḥa-mu ka-a-ta² lu-uš-pur-ka
 5. [ši]-te ?-a-a³ mu-da-a-ta te-iş-bu-ra⁴ te-li-’i
 6. ilāni abē-ja šu-bi-ka ana ma-ah-ri-ja⁵
 7. *li*-bu-ku-nim-ma ilāni⁶ na-gab⁷-šu-nu
 8. li-ša-nu liš-ku-nu ina ki-ri-e-ti lu-uš-bu⁸
 9. aš-na-an li-ku-lu lip-ti-ku ku-ru-na⁹
 10. a-na *ilu*Marduk¹⁰ mu-tir¹¹ gi-mil-li-šu-nu li-ši-mu
 šim-tum¹²
 11. ’i-ir a-lik *ilu*Ga-ga ḳu-ud-mi¹³-šu-nu i-zi-iz¹⁴-ma
 12. [ša]¹⁵ a-zak-ka-ru-ka šu-un-na-a a-na ša-a-šu-un
 13. An-ṣar ma-ru-ku-nu¹⁶ ú-ma-’i-ra-an-ni
 14. [te-rit] libbi-šu ù-ša-aş-bi-ra-an-ni ja-a-ti¹⁷
 15. [um-mu Ti]-jamat a-lit-ta-nu¹⁸ i-zi-ir-ra-an-na-a-ti¹⁸
 16. [pu-uh-ra šit-ku-]na-at¹⁹-ma ag-giš lab-bat
 17. is-ḥu-ru-šim-ma ilāni gi-mir-šu-un
 18. a-di²⁰ ša at-tu-nu tab-na-a i-da-ša al-ka

(*dumu-meš-zi*, Tammuzes?), KAV. 42 I 14. He is mentioned in a list of deities, *Shurpu*, 8, 15, more or less closely associated with Nergal and Ninurta, and in the inscription of Senecherib cited above he is again associated with Ninurta and similar types (Ṣarur, Ṣargaz). The divine name *Gaga* in N. Pra. is rather *Gaga* = *Ninkarrak*, the mother goddess, CT. 25, 3, 55.

¹ So CT. 13, 7, 3; KAR. 173, *LUH*.

² KAR. 173, -ša.

³ Cf. IV R. 12, 12, *ši-te-’a mudū*.

⁴ K. 3473, -ru.

⁵ KING, Cr. ii, Pl. 25, begins here and has the correct text. K. 3473, *maḥ-ri-ka* is erroneous. Last sign on KAR. 173 is doubtful.

⁶ K. 3473, *AN-AN*.

⁷ KING, ii, Pl. 25, *ga-ab*. Both Vars. *šu-un*.

⁸ K. 3473, *hiš-bu*. Cf. I. 133. According to I. 126 this refers to the Igigi.

⁹ KING, ii, Pl. 25, -nu.

3. 'O Gaga, messenger that gladdenest my mind,
4. Unto the place of Lahmu and Lahamu I will send thee.
5. *To seek for* thou knowest, thou art able to comprehend.
6. Bring the gods my fathers unto me.
7. And let them bring to me the gods—all of them.
8. Let them converse, at a banquet may they sit down.
9. May they eat bread and prepare wine.
10. For Marduk their avenger let them decree fate.

11. Hasten, go, Gaga, and stand thou before them.
12. That which I tell thee repeat unto them;
13. "Anšar your son sent me.
14. He caused me to comprehend the purpose of his heart.
15. Mother Tiamat our procreatrix cursed us.²⁰
16. She has assembled a host, angrily raging.
17. They turned away unto her, the gods—all of them,
18. Except those whom you created, and they have gone to her side.

¹⁰ The Aššur text, KAR. 173, has *Ašur (AN-ŠAR)*, but the Babylonian originals obviously read Marduk here.

¹¹ KING, ii, Pl. 25, -*tir-ri*.

¹² K. 3473, -*ta*.

¹³ K. 3473, *kud-me*.

¹⁴ *Ibid., ziz*.

¹⁵ KING restored *mim-mu-u*, and he is followed by DHORME and EBELING, on the authority of Tab. II 10. The traces on KAR. 173 are against this reading.

¹⁶ KAR. 173, *ka*.

¹⁷ Cf. I. 72.

¹⁸ K. 3473, -*ni*; *zir*; *ši* for *ti*. *annāti*, the accusative, is correct. Cf. I. 74. Here KING, ii, Pl. 25 ff., which contains only selections, omits ll. 16–51.

¹⁹ Cf. II 12; III 74.

²⁰ Gaga now repeats Ea's report to Anšar, II 11–48.

²¹ See note on *adi*, II 14. On the contrary *a-di la-a iluAšur Ti-amat i-kam-mu-u*, in MEISSNER-ROST, *Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, 100, 14, pro-

19. im-ma az-ru-nim-ma i-du-uš-šù¹ Tiamat te-bi-ú-ni¹
20. iz-zu kap-du la sa-ki-pu mu-ša u im-mu²
21. na-šu-ú tam-ḥa-rú³ na-zar-bu-bu la-ab³-bu
22. ukkin-na ši-it⁴-ku-nu-ma i-ban-nu-ú šu-la-a-tum
23. um-mu ḥu-bu-ur pa-ti-ḳa-at ka-la-mu⁵
24. uš-ra-ad-di kak-ku la ma-ḥar-ra⁶ it-ta-lad muš-mah
25. zak-tu-ma ši-in-na⁷ la pa-du-ú an-ta-'-u[m]
26. im-tu ki-ma da-me⁸ zu-mur-šu-nu uš-ma-al-li
27. ušumgallē na-ad-ru-u-ti pul-ḥa-a-ti u-šal-biš-[ma]
28. me-lam-me uš-taš-ša-a e-liš um-taš-[šil]
29. a-mir-šu-nu šar-ba-ba liš-ḥar-mi-im
30. zu-mur-šu-nu liš-taḥ-ḥi-ṭam-ma la i-ni-’i-u i-rat-su-[un]
31. uš-ziz ba-áš-mu muš-ruš-šu u ^{ilat}La-ḥa-[mu]
32. ū-gal-lum uridimmu u akrab-amēlu (girtablili)
33. ū-mi da-ap-ru-ti¹⁴ kulili u ku-sa-riḳ-[ku]
34. na-aš kakkē la pa-di-i la a-di-ru ta-ḥa-[zi]

bably means not 'except', but 'Before A. had bound Tiamat'. Note also *adina lā i-ra-ši*, 'Before he obtains (children)', *Bogh.-Keui*, i no. 8, 34. Both particles govern the present tense.

¹ Here begins KING, ii, Pl. 29. K. 3473 om. šu and reads -bu.

² K. 3473, -ma.

³ K. 3473, -ri and -lab. On the syntax of these permansives see MEISSNER, *Assyr. Grammatik*, § 51, (l).

19. They have cursed the day, and have gone up to the side of Tiamat.
20. They have raged and plotted, resting not night and day.
21. They have joined battle, fuming and raging.
22. They have collected forces, making hostility.
23. Mother Hubur the designer of all things,
24. Added thereto weapons not to be withstood, and gave birth to monstrous serpents.
25. They have been made sharp of tooth, sparing not the fang.
26. With poison like blood she filled their bodies.
27. Gruesome monsters she caused to be clothed with terror.
28. She caused them to bear dreadfulness, she made them godlike.
29. Whosoever beholds them lo ! he is banned with terror.
30. Their bodies rear up and none restrain their breast.
31. She established the Viper,⁹ the Raging-serpent¹⁰ and Lahamu,
32. The Great-lion,¹¹ the Gruesome-hound,¹² the Scorpion-man,¹³
33. The destructive spirits of wrath, the Fish-man¹⁵ and the Fish-ram,¹⁶
34. Bearers of weapons that spare not, fearless of battle.

⁴ K. 3473, *šit*.⁵ *Ibid.*, -*bur*; *kat*.⁶ K. 3473; *rad*; *ka-ak-ki*; *mah-ri*.⁸ *Ibid.*, *mi*.⁷ K. 3473, *šin-ni*. Cf. II 21.⁹ Hydra; see I 140.¹⁰ Milky-way.¹¹ Leo, see I 141.¹² Lopus.¹³ Sagittarius.¹⁴ Cf. I 142.¹⁵ Aquarius.¹⁶ Capricorn.

35. gap-ša te-ri-tu-ša la ma-ḥar ši-na-a-[ma]
36. ap-pu-un-na-ma eš-ten eš-ri-tum kima šu-a-tu uš-
tab-[ši]¹
37. i-na ilāni bu-uk-ri-ša šu-ut iš-kun-ši [pu-uh-ra]
38. ú-ša-aš-ki *ilu* Kin-gu ina bi-ri-šu-[nu ša-a-šu] uš-rab-
[bi-iš]¹
39. a-li-kut maḥ-ri pa-an um-ma-ni [mu'-i-ir-ru-tu pu-
uh-ri]²
40. [na-]aš kakkê² ti-iş-bu-tu ti-[bu-ú a-na-an-ta]
41. [šu-ut] tam-ḥa-ri ra-ab šik-[ka-tu-tu]
42. [ip-ḳid]-ma Ḳa-tuš-šu ú-še-ši-[ka-aš-šu ina kar-ri]
43. [ad-]di ta-a-ka ina puḥur ilāni [ú-śar-bi-ka]
44. [ma-]li-kut ilāni gi-mir-[šu-nu Ḳa-tuk-ka uš-mal-li]³
45. [lu] šur-ba-ta-ma ḥa'-i-i⁴-[ri e-du-ú at-ta]
46. li-ir-tab-bu-ú zik-ru-ka eli kali-šu-nu [*ilu* A-nu-uk-ki]
47. id-din-šum-ma dupšimāti i-ra-[tuš u-śat-mi-ih]⁵
48. ka-ta Ḳibit-ka la in-nim-na-a li-kun ši-it pi-i-ka⁶
49. in-na-nu *ilu* Kin-gu šu-uš-ku-ú li-ku-ú e-nu-ti⁷

¹ Here begins K. 6650, CT. 13, 9.² K. 6650, *kakki*.³ K. 6650, *gim-rat-su-nu Ḳa-luš-šu*. This version, therefore, did not regard l. 44 as part of Tiamat's speech, but its text is more likely a scribal error. It continues in the second person in the next line.⁴ K. 6650, om.

35. Prodigious are become her designs, unopposable are they.

36. In all eleven are they and thus she brought them into being.

37. Among the gods her first-born who formed her assembly,

38. She exalted Kingu; in their midst she magnified him.

39. As for those who go before the host, as for those who direct the assembly,

40. To undertake the bearing of arms, to advance to the attack,

41. As to matters of battle, to be mighty in victory,

42. She entrusted into his hand; and she caused him to sit down in sack-cloth, (saying),

43. 'I have uttered thy spell; in the assembly of the gods I have magnified thee.'

44. The dominion of the gods, all of them, I put into thy hand.

45. Verily thou hast been exalted; O my husband, thou alone.

46. May thy names be greater than all of the names of the Anunnaki.'

47. She gave him the tablets of fate, she caused them to be fastened upon his breast, (saying):

48. 'As for thee, thy command is not annulled; the issue of thy mouth is sure.'

49. And now Kingu who had been exalted, who had received Anuship,

⁵ Here begins 42285, KING, Cr. ii, Pl. 30. *Ibid.*, *i-ra-tu-us^v*. K. 6650. -*šu-ma*. Cf. II 43; I 155.

⁶ 42285, -*šu*! Same error as above, l. 44. Var. Here begins 93017. CT. 13, 10.

⁷ So 42285, where II 45 has *iluA-nu-ti*.

50. an ilāni mārē-ša¹ ši-ma-ta² uš-ti-šam

51. ip-šu pi-ku-un³ *ilu*Gibil⁴ li-ni-ih-ha

52. gašru kit-mu-ra⁵ ma-ag-ša ri liš-rab-bi-ib

53. aš-pur-ma *ilu*A-num⁶ ul i-li-ii-a⁷ ma-ḥar⁷-ša

54. *ilu*Nu-dim-mud i-dur⁸-ma i-tu-ra ár-kiš⁸

55. 'i-ir *ilu*Marduk abkal⁹ ilāni ma-ru-ku-un

56. ma-ḥa-riš¹⁰ Ti-a-wa-ti¹⁰ lib¹⁰-ba-šu a-ra ub-la

57. ip-šu pi-i-šu i-ta-ma-a a-na ja-a-ti

58. šum-ma-ma a-na-ku mu-tir¹¹ gi-mil-li-ku-un

59. a-kam-me Tam-tam-ma¹² ú-bal-laṭ ka-šu-un

60. šuk-na¹³-ma pu-uh-ra¹⁴ šu-ti¹⁵-ra i-ba-a šim-ti

61. ina up-šu-ukkin-na-ku¹⁶ mit-ḥa-riš ḥa-diš¹⁷ tiš-ba-ma

62. ip-šu pi-ja ki-ma ka¹⁸-tu-nu-ma ši-ma-tam¹⁹ lu-šim-
ma¹⁹

63. la ut-tak-kar mim²⁰mu-ú a-ban-nu-ú a-na-ku

64. áj i-tūr²¹ áj in-nin-na-a se-kar šap-ti-ja²²

65. ḥu-um-ṭa-nim-ma ši-mat-ku-nu ár-ḥiš²³ ši-ma-šu

66. lil-lik lim-ḥu-ra²⁴ na-kar-ku-nu dan-nu

67. il-lik *ilu*Ga-ga ur-ḥa-šu ú-šar-di-ma

¹ K. 6650, *DUMU-DUMU*. 93017, *ma-ri-e-ša*.

² 42285, *ti*; 93017, *tam* and *iš-ti-[mu]*.

³ K. 3473, *nu*; 6650, *pi-i-ku-nu*.

⁴ *BIL-GI*; K. 3473; 42285, *giš-BAR*. See note on I 160.

⁵ K. 3473, *ina kit-mu-ri*; K. 6650, *šit-mu-ra*, but see KING, Cr. 45.

n. 16. KING, Cr. ii, Pl. 26, *kit-mu-ru*; and *li-ra-ab-bi-ib*.

⁶ K. 3473, *nu-um*; K. 10008, 10, *nam*.

⁷ 42285, omits *a* and has *ḥa-ar*. See for the defeat of Anu, II 72-85. KING, ii, Pl. 26, *i-li-'i-im*.

⁸ 42285, *ar-ki-iš*. K. 10008, 11 has *dár*. KING, ii, Pl. 26, *du-ur*. The summons to Ea and his defeat were related in II 54-70.

⁹ K. 3473, *ab-kal-lu*. ¹⁰ KING, ii, Pl. 26, *ri-iš*; *Tiamat*; *li-ib*.

50. For the gods her sons fixed the destinies (saying),

51. 'Open ye your mouths; verily it shall quench the fire-god.

52. He who is strong in conflict may humiliate might.'

53. I sent Anu but he was not able to withstand her.

54. Nudimmud feared and turned back.

55. But Marduk, sage of the gods, your son, came forward.

56. Against Tiamat his heart has prompted him to proceed.

57. Having opened his mouth he says unto me:

58. 'If I, your avenger,

59. Bind Tiamat and keep you alive,

60. Convene the assembly, announce again my fate.

61. In Upšukkinaku seat yourselves together gladly.

62. Having opened my mouth may I decree fates even as you.

63. And whatsoever I create shall not be changed.

64. May the speech of my lips not return and be made of no avail.'

65. Hasten ye and fix for him your fates quickly.

66. May he go and meet your powerful enemy.'

67. Gaga went, he pursued his way.

¹¹ KING, ii, Pl. 26, -ri. Here begins the quotation of II 123-9.

¹² K. 3473, *Tiamat-ma*; KING, ii, Pl. 26 and 42285, *Tiamat-am-ma*.

¹³ K. 3473, -na-a.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *ru*. KING, ii, Pl. 26 and 42285, -ūb-ru.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. 26, -te.

¹⁶ K. 3473, *ki*; KING, Pl. 26, *kam*; and *mi-it-ha-ri-iš*.

¹⁷ 42285, *di-iš* and *ta-aš-ba-ma*. ¹⁸ KING, ii 27, *ka-a-*.

¹⁹ 42285, *tum*; *lu-ši-im*.

²⁰ KING, ii, Pl. 27, *mi-im*.

²¹ KING, ii, Pl. 27, *tu-ur*.

²² 42285, *i*.

²³ *hi-iš*, KING, ii, Pl. 27; 42285.

²⁴ 42285, *hur*. Here begins 83-1-18, 2116, CT. 13, 12.

68. aš-riš ^{il}*r* Laḥ-mu u ^{ilat}La-ḥa-me¹ ilāni abē-šù¹

69. uš-kin-ma iš-šík² kak-ka-ra ša-pal³-šu-un

70. ik-mis⁴ iz-ziz⁵-ma i-zak-kar-šu-un

71. An-śar-ma ma-ri-ku-nu⁶ ú-ma-'i-ir-an-ni

72. te-rit lib-bi-šù ú-ša-aş-bir⁷-an-ni ja-a-ti

73. um-ma Ti-amat a-lit-ta-ni i-zir⁸-ra-an-na-ši⁹

74. pu-uh̄-ra¹⁰ šit¹¹-ku-na-at-ma ag-giš¹² la-ab¹³-bat

75. is-ḥu-ru-śim-ma ilāni gi-mir¹⁴-šu-un

76. a-di ša at-tu-nu tab-na-a i-da-ša¹⁵ al-ku¹⁶

77. im-ma az-ru-nim-ma i-du-uš¹⁷ Ti-a-ya-ti¹⁸ te-bu-ni¹⁹

78. iz-zu kap-du la sa-ki-pu mu-ši ù im-ma²⁰

79. na-šu-ú tam-ḥa-ra²¹ na-zar-bu-bu la-ab²²-bu

80. um-ki-en-na²³ šit-ku-nu-ma i-ban-nu-ú²⁴ šu-la-a-tum²⁵

81. um-mu Hu-bur pa-ti-ḳat²⁶ ka-la-ma

82. uš-rad-di kakka²⁷ la ma-ḥar²⁸ it-ta-lad muš-mah̄-i²⁹

83. zak-tu-ma šin-ni la pa-du-ú at-ta'-a-i³⁰

¹ KING, ii, Pl. 27, -ḥa-mu. 42285; 83-1-18, 2116, ab-bi-e-šu.

² ši-ik, KING, ii, Pl. 27.

³ ma-har, 42215; KING, ii, Pl. 27; 83-1-18, 2116.

⁴ i-śir, K. 3473; [i-śi]-ir, KING, ii, Pl. 27. iśir from aśāru, give heed to, muster. See PSBA. 1910, 122-3, and cf. ZIMMERN, *Rt.* p. 102, l. 100. The passage as in *Rt. ibid.* demands rather the root **שָׁרַת**. It is probable that yaśāru, descend, be inclined (see RA. 19, 142 n. 5), has also a form jaśāru. Cf. RA. 14, 123, 24.

⁵ iz-za-az, KING, ii, Pl. 27; 42285; 83-1-18, 2116.

⁶ K. 3473, An-śar ma-ru-; KING, ii, Pl. 27, ma-ru. Here begins K. 8575, CT. 13, 12.

⁷ bi-ra, 42285; KING, ii, Pl. 28; K. 8575; 83-1-18, 2116.

⁸ zi-ir, 42285; KING, ii, Pl. 28. ⁹ ti, *ibid.*; -a-ti, 42285.

68. In the presence of Lahmu and Lahamu the gods
his fathers,

69. He kneeled and kissed the ground before them.

70. He bowed down, he stood up and addressed them
(saying) :

71. "Anšar your son sent me.

72. He caused me to comprehend the purpose of his
heart.

73. Mother Tiamat our procreatress cursed us.

74. She has assembled a host, angrily raging.

75. They turned away unto her, the gods—all of them.

76. Except those whom you created, they have gone
to her side.

77. They have cursed the day and have gone up to
the side of Tiamat.

78. They have raged and plotted resting not night
and day.

79. They have joined battle, fuming and raging.

80. They have collected forces, making hostility.

81. Mother Hubur the designer of all things,

82. Added thereto unopposable weapons, and gave
birth to monstrous serpents.

83. They have been made sharp of tooth, sparing not
the fang.

¹⁰ K. 3473, *ru*.

¹¹ *št-it*, KING, ii, Pl. 28.

¹² *gi-iš*, 42285.

¹³ *lab*, K. 8575.

¹⁴ *mi-ir*, 42285; KING, ii 28. Here begins K. 8524.

¹⁵ *i-da-a-šu*, K. 8575.

¹⁶ *ka*, 42285.

¹⁷ Here begins 83-1-18, 1868, *i-du-uš-šu*.

¹⁸ *Ta-ä-ya-ti*, K. 8524 and K. 8575 Rev. 8. 13-1-18, 1868, *Ti-ama*
and *te-bu-ú-ni*.

¹⁹ *te-bi-ni!* 42285.

²⁰ *mu*, 83-1-18, 1868; 42285.

²¹ *ri*, K. 3473; 8575.

²² *lab*, K. 8575.

²³ *ukkin-na*, K. 3473.

²⁴ 42285, *-nu-ma*.

²⁵ *ti*, *ibid.*

²⁶ *ka-at*, 42285, and *-mu* at end as on 83-1-18, 1868.

²⁷ K. 3473, *kakké*.

²⁸ *mah-ri*, 8524; 8575.

²⁹ *mušmah*. Pl. 42285, *muš-mah*.

³⁰ *ta-at-i'-im*, 42285.

84. im-tu ki-ma da-mi zu-mur-šu-nu uš-ma-al-li¹
 85. ušum-gallē na-ad-ru-ti pul-ḥa-a-ti² ú-ṣal-biš-ma
86. me-lam-me uš-taš-ša-a i-liš³ um-taš-šil⁴
87. a-mir-šu-nu šar-ba-ba li-iḥ-ḥar-mi-im
88. zu-mur⁵-šu-nu liš-tah-ḥi-ṭam-ma la i-ni'-ú-ni irat-su-un
89. us-ziz⁶ ba-aš-mi⁶ *ilu*mušruššē⁶ u *ilu*La-ḥa-mi
90. ḫi-gallē ur-idimmē⁸ u akrab-amelu (girtablili)
91. ḫimē da-ap-ru-ti kulili u kū-dár-rik-ki
92. na-aš kak-ku¹¹ la pa-di-i la a-di-ru ta-ḥa-zi
93. gap-ša te-ri-tu-ša la ma-ḥar ši-na-ma
94. ap-pu-na-ma iš-ten eš-rit ki-ma šu-a-tu uš-tab-ši
95. ina¹² ilāni bu-uk-ri-ša šu-ut iš-ku-nu-ši pu-uh-ri
96. ú-ša-aš-ki *ilu*Kin-gu ina bi-ri-šu-nu ša-a-šu uš-rab-bi-iš
97. a-li-kut¹³ ma-ḥar¹³ pa-an um-ma-ni mu-ir-ru-tu
puḥri
98. na-še-e kakki¹⁴ ti-iš-bu-tu te-bu-ú a-na-an-tam
99. šu-ut tam-ḥa-ra¹⁵ ra-ab šik-ka-tu-ti

¹ *la*, 42285.² -*ta*, K. 8524.³ K. 8524, *e-liš*.⁴ 42285, *ši-il*.⁵ K. 3473, *mir*.⁶ K. 3473, Sing. -*mu*, also Sing. *muš-ruš-šu*. The plurals in 93017 are false. K. 3473, *uš-siz*.

84. With poison like blood she filled their bodies.
 85. Gruesome monsters she caused to be clothed with terror.
 86. She caused them to bear dreadfulness, she made them godlike.
 87. Whosoever beholds them, lo! he is banned with terror.
 88. Their bodies rear up and none restrain their breast.
 89. She established the Viper(s), the Raging-serpent and Lahamu(s),⁷
 90. The Great-lion(s), the Gruesome-hound(s), and the Scorpion-man,⁸
 91. The destructive spirits of wrath, the Fish-man and the Fish-ram,¹⁰
 92. Bearers of weapons that spare not, fearless of battle.
 93. Prodigious are become her designs, uncopposable are they.
 94. In all eleven are they and thus she brought them into being.
 95. Among the gods her first-born who formed her assembly,
 96. She exalted Kingu; in their midst she magnified him.
 97. As for those who go before the host, as for those who direct the assembly,
 98. To undertake the bearing of arms, to advance to the attack,
 99. As to matters of battle, to be mighty in victory,

⁷ See l. 31.⁸ K. 3473, *ā-gal-lum* and *ur-idimmu*, correctly.⁹ See l. 32.¹⁰ See l. 33.¹¹ K. 3473, *kakke*.¹² K. 3473, *i-na*.¹³ K. 3473, *ku-ut* and *-ri*.¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *na-aš kakke*.¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *ri*.

100. ip-ķid-ma ķa-tuš-šu ú-še-ši-ba-aš-šu ina kar-ri
101. ad-di ta-a-ka ina puħri ilāni ú-šar-bi-ka
102. ma-li-kut ilāni gim-rau-su-nu ķa-tuk-ka uš-mál-li
103. lu-ú šur-ba-ta-ma īa-i-ri e-du-ú at-ta
104. li-ir-tab-bu-ú zik-ru-ka eli kali-šu-nu ilāni rabûti¹
 ^{ilu}A-nun-na-[ki]
105. id-[din-]šum-ma dupšimāti [i-ra-tuš ú-šat-mi-ih]²
106. ka-ta ķibit-ka la in-[nin-na-a li-kun ši-it pi-i-ka]
107. in-na-na ^{ilu}Kin-gu šu-uš-[ķu-ú li-ķu-u ^{ilu}A-nu-ti]³
108. an ilāni mārē-ša ši-[ma-ti uš-ti-šam]⁴
109. ip-šu pi-i-ku-nu ^{ilu}Gibil⁵ [li-ni-ih-ha]
110. gašru ina kit-mu-ru ma-[ag-ša-ra liš-rab-bi-ib]
111. aš-pur-ma ^{ilu}A-nu-um ul i-[li-ī-a ma-ħar-ša]
112. ^{ilu}Nu-dim-mud e-dur-[ma i-tu-ra ar-kis]
113. 'i-ir ^{ilu}Marduk ab-kal [ilāni ma-ru-ku-un]
114. ma-ħa-riš Ti-amat [lib-ba-šu a-ra ub-la]
115. ip-šu pi-i-šu [i-ta-ma-a īa-a-ti]
116. šum-ma-ma a-na-ku[mu-tir gi-mil-li-ku-un]
117. a-kam-me Ti-amat [u-bal-laħ ka-šu-un]
118. šuk-na-a-má pu-uh-ru [šu-ti-ra i-ba-a šim-ti]
119. i-na up-šu-ukkin-na-ki [mit-ħa-riš īa-diš tiš-ba-ma]

¹ Read AN-GAL-MEŠ.² Restored from I 156.³ Last line on CT. 13, 11.⁴ Cf. I. 48.

100. She entrusted into his hand ; and she caused him to sit down in sack-cloth, (saying) :

101. 'I uttered thy spell ; in assembly of the gods I magnified thee.

102. The dominion of the gods, all of them, I put into thy hand.

103. Verily thou hast been magnified, O my husband, thou alone.

104. May thy names be greater than all of the names of the great gods, the Anunnaki.'²

105. She gave him the tablets of fate, she caused them to be fastened upon his breast (saying) :

106. 'As for thee, thy command is not annulled ; the issue of thy mouth is sure.'⁴

107. And now Kingu who had been exalted, who had received Anuship,

108. For the gods her sons fixed the destinies (saying) :

109. 'Open ye your mouths ; verily it shall quench the fire-god.

110. He who is strong in conflict may humiliate might.'

111. I sent Anu but he was not able to withstand her.

112. Nudimmud feared and turned back.

113. But Marduk, sage of the gods, your son, came forward.

114. Against Tiamat his heart has prompted him to proceed.

115. Having opened his mouth he says unto me :

116. 'If I your avenger,

117. Bind Tiamat and keep you alive,

118. Convene the assembly, announce again my fate.

119. In Upšukkinaku seat yourselves together gladly.

⁵ Cf. I 158 ; II 45.

⁶ Cf. II 46 ; III 50.

⁷ *giš-BAR.*

120. ip-šu pi-ja ki-ma ka-[tu-nu-ma ši-ma-tam lu-šim-
ma]
121. la ut-tak-kar mim-mu-u a-ban-nu-ú [a-na-ku]
122. áj i-tūr áj in-nin-na-a se-kar [šap-ti-ja]
123. hu-um-ṭa-nim-ma ši-mat-ku-nu ár-hiš [ši-ma-šu]
124. lil-lik lim-hu-ra na-kar-ku-nu dan-nu¹
125. iš-mu-ma *ilu*Lah-ḥa² *ilat*La-ḥa-mu is-su-ú e-li-tum
126. *ilu*Igigi nap-ḥar-šu-nu i-nu-ku mar-ṣi-iš
127. mi-na-a nak-ra a-di ir-šu-ú³ ši-bi-it té-[mi šu-
a-ti]
128. la ni-i-di ni-i-ni ša Ti-amat⁴ e-p[iš-ta-ša]⁵
129. ik-ša-šu-nim-ma i-lak⁷-[ku-ni]
130. ilāni rabūti ka-li-šu-nu mu-šim-mu šimāti
131. i-ru-bu-ma mut-ti-iš An-ṣar im-lu-u [ub-šu-ukkin-
na-ki]
132. in-niš-ku a-ḥu-u a-ḥi ina puḥri [in-nin-du]⁹
133. li-ša-nu iš-ku-nu ina ki-ri-e-ti [uš-bu]¹⁰
134. aš-na-an i-ku-lu ip-ti-ku [ku-ru-na]
135. ši-ri-sa mat-ku ú-sa-an-ni¹² pít-ra-di-šu-[un]
136. ši-ik-ru ina ša-te-e ḥa-ba-ṣu¹³ zu-um-[ru-šu-un]

¹ Here begins KING, ii 28, last section.

² Also KING, ii 28 has *Lah-ḥa*. ³ Here begins KAR. 173, Rev.

⁴ For this restoration cf. zibit térim rišt, 'make a decision', UNGNAD, VAB. vi 192, 16–17; 225, 29; 226, 30.

⁵ KAR. 117, ni-i-nu *Ti-ā-ua-ṭi*.

⁶ KING's restoration. EBELING, *e-gir-ri-ša*, which is not so likely.

⁷ KAR. 173, *la-[ak]*. ⁸ Cf. above, l. 61.

⁹ Cf. i 21. Var. KAR, 173, *ahū u ahū ina pu-uh-ri*.

¹⁰ Restored from l. 8.

¹¹ Cf. l. 9. Lines 134 f. also on K. 10008, ll. 13 f.

¹² *sanū*, metathesis for *nasū*.

¹³ *habaṣu* is regarded by all editors of this text as a permansive for *habšu*, but DELITZSCH, H.W., 267, expressed doubt concerning the form.

120. Having opened my mouth may I decree fates even as you.

121. And whatsoever I create shall not be changed.

122. May the speech of my lips not return and be made of no avail.'

123. Hasten ye and fix for him your fates quickly.

124. May he go and meet your powerful enemy."

125. When Lahha and Lahamu heard this they cried aloud.

126. The totality of the Igigi wailed bitterly;

127. "Why have they become hostile until they have conceived [this device ?]⁴

128. We knew not of the deed of Tiamat."

129. They assembled together and departed,

130. They the great gods all of them deciders of fates.

131. They entered into the presence of Anšar, and filled the [Upšukkinaku]⁸

132. They kissed one another and united in assembly.

133. They conversed together as they were seated at the banquet.

134. They ate bread and prepared wine.¹¹

135. The sweet drink put far away their cares.

136. As they drank liquor their bodies became sated.

JENSEN, K.B. vi 323, cites *nakkadat* and Var. *nakdat* in ZIMMERN, Rt. 104, 112, wherefore he regards *ḥabāṣu* as equivalent to *ḥabbāṣu*. It is difficult to find any other explanation unless an adjective *ḥabbaṣu* = *ḥabāṣu* be assumed, conjugated as a verb. *ḥabāṣu* means firstly 'be satisfied, full, contented', and secondly 'to rejoice, be glad'. For the original sense see beside JENSEN, *ibid.*, *ilat*Nidaba *hi-it-bu-ṣa-at*, 'grain became abundant', CT. 15, 36, 4. For the secondary meaning see, beside previous entries in the lexicons, Imp. *ḥu-bu-uṣ*, rejoice, *Bg. Keui*, i, Pl. 48, 15; *lu-uh-bu-uṣ*, l. 17. 1² *hi-it-bu-zu tukunti*, they rejoice in battle, ZIMMERN, KL., 214 III 16; cf. EBELING, *Quellen*, i 59, 26: *irāṣa Bāb-ili' hi-it-bu-[us ...]*, BA. v 310, 29. G. R. DRIVER suggests another root, Arabic *ḥabāda*, pulsate, for this passage, for which cf. *ḥibu libbi-ṣa*, HARPER. *Letters*, 1194 R. 14.

TABLET IV³

1. id-du-šum-ma pa-rak ru-bu-tum
 2. ma-ha-ri-iš ab-bi-e-šu a-na ma-li-ku-tum ir-me
 3. at-ta-ma kab-ta-ta i-na ilāni ra-bu-tum
 4. ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an se-kar-ka *ilu*A-num
 5. *ilu*Marduk kab-ta-ta i-na ilāni ra-bu-tum
 6. ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an se-kar-ka *ilu*A-num
 7. iš-tu û-mi-im-ma la in-nin-na-a ki-bit-ka
 8. šu-uš-ku-ú ù šu-uš-pu-lu ši-i lu-ú ga-at-ka
 9. lu-ú ki-na-at ši-it pi-i-ka la sa-ra-ar se-kar-ka
 10. ma-am-ma-an i-na ilāni i-tuk-ka la it-ti-ik
 11. za-na-nu-tum ir-šat pa-rak ilāni-ma

¹ Assyrian possesses at least two roots *egū*, to be lazy, negligent, *yx* and murmur, babble, error, sin, *ḥagā* murmur, Arabic, *hağay*, *hağā*, read in whispers. For the use of *egū*, murmur, of ghosts, see *Maklu* I 41, *mimmu kaṣṣafatī-ja ippusa e-ga-a*. Therefore Arabic secondary form *hiğā'*, Satyr. DHORME connected *e-gu-u* in *Creat.* iii 137 with *nyā*, cry, roar, which is also possible, and cf. RA. 15, 175, 26 (Ishtar) *ga-a-at* with *ra'imāt* (thunders).

² Aššur version, KAR. 173, *Anšar*.

³ The sources for the Fourth Tablet are published in CT. 13, 14-22, and a small Aššur fragment, VAT. 10898, is utilized by EBELING,

137. Much they babbled and their mood was exalted.

138. For Marduk their avenger they decreed the fate.

139. (Catch-line).

TABLET IV³

1. They founded for him a princely chamber.⁴

2. Before his fathers for consultation⁵ he took his place.

3. "Thou hast become honoured among the great gods.

4. Thy destiny is unparalleled, thy commandment is (like) Anu's.

5. O Marduk honoured hast thou become among the great gods.

6. Thy destiny is unparalleled, thy commandment is (like) Anu's.

7. From this day shall thy word not be changed.

8. To exalt and to humble—this is thy power.

9. Verily the issue of thy mouth is sure, not uncertain is thy commandment.

10. Not one among the gods shall transgress thy boundary.

11. Restoration is the need of the chambers of the gods.⁶

Weltschöpfungslied, p. 6. BM. 93016 = CT. 13, 14–15 is a Babylonian tablet.

⁴ Text of ll. 1–43 on 93016.

⁵ *malikútum* is taken by all editors in a subjective sense, referring to Marduk's advice to or dominion over the gods. The view taken in the translation above interprets *malikútum* as referring to the following decree of the assembly of the gods by which he received the rank of one of the great deities.

⁶ The line refers to Marduk as the patron of the upkeep of temples. Cf. VII 7; VI 88.

12. a-šar sa-gi-šu-nu lu-ú ku-un aš-ru-uk-ka
13. *ilu*¹ Marduk at-ta-ma mu-tir-ru gi-mil-li-ni
14. ni-id-din-ka šar-ru-tum kiš-šat kal gim-ri-e-ti
15. ti-šam-ma i-na pu-hur lu-ú ša-ga-ta² a-mat-ka
16. kak-ki-ka áj ib-bal-tu-ú³ li-ra-i-su na-ki-ri-ka
17. be-lum ša tak-lu-ka na-piš-ta-šu gi-mil-ma
18. ù ilu ša lim-ni-e-ti i-ḥu-zu tu-bu-uk nap-šat-su
19. uš-zi-zu-ma i-na bi-ri-šu-nu lu-ba-šu iš-ten
20. a-na *ilu*⁴ Marduk bu-uk-ri-šu-nu šu-nu iz-zak-ru
21. ši-mat-ka be-lum lu-ú mah-ra-at ilāni-ma
22. a-ba-tum ù ba-nu-ú ki-bi li-ik-tu-nu
23. ip-ša⁴ pi-i-ka li'-a-bit lu-ba-šu
24. tu-ur ki-bi-šum-ma lu-ba-šu li-iš-lim
25. ik-bi-ma i-na pi-i-šu 'i-a-bit lu-ba-šu
26. i-tu-ur ik-bi-šum-ma lu-ba-šu it-tab-ni
27. ki-ma ši-it pi-i-šu i-mu-ru ilāni ab-bi-e-šu
28. iḥ-du-ú ik-ru-bu *ilu*⁵ Marduk-ma šar-ru⁵

¹ For the meaning of *sagū*, see PSBA. 1910, 118, and *sa-gi-e-a*, my sanctuary, Syn. *aširtu*, KING, *Creat. App.* V 75. See also MEISSNER, MVAG. 1905, 78.

² For examples of 3rd Fem. Sing. -ata see DELITZSCH, *Assyr. Grammatik*, p. 268.

³ Certainly for *ibbalṭu*. See DEL. HW. 175, and *dib* = *na-bal-ṭu-u*.

12. (And so) thy place has been fixed wherever are their shrines.¹

13. Thou Marduk art our avenger.

14. We have given thee kingship of universal power over the totality of all things.

15. Sit thou in the assembly, verily thy word is become eminent.

16. May thy weapons not flee but may they annihilate thy foes.

17. O lord of him that puts his trust in thee, spare thou the life.

18. And as for the god who has conceived evil, pour out his breath of life."

19. They caused to be placed in their midst a garment,

20. Saying unto Marduk their first-born :

21. "Thy fate, O lord, verily has been made equal to that of the gods.

22. Command 'to destroy and to make' and they shall be fulfilled.

23. Speak thou thy word and let the garment be destroyed.

24. Command again and let the garment be whole."

25. He commanded and at his word the garment was destroyed.

26. Again he commanded and the garment was remade.

27. As the gods his fathers saw the issue of his mouth,

28. They were glad and did homage (saying) "The king is Marduk".

Syn. *ba'u*, RA. 13, 188, 20. Restore STRECK, *Assurb.* 336 R. 1, *ib-bal-fu-u*(?).

¹ Usually regarded as an imperative with *a* energeticus.

⁵ *šarru* is not the predicate of this nominal sentence but the subject; nouns as attributes have the construct or indeterminate case.

29. u-uş-şi-pu-şu *išu*haṭṭa *išu*kussa ù pala-a¹

30. id-di-nu-şu kak-ku la ma-har-ra da-'-i-pu za-jā-ri

31. a-lik-ma ša Ti-amat nap-şa-tu-uš² pu-ru'-ma

32. ša-a-ru da-mi-şa a-na pu-uz-ra-tum li-bil-lu-ni

33. i-şi-mu-ma ša *ilu*Bêl ši-ma-tu-uš ilāni ab-bi-e-šu

34. u-ru-uh šu-ul-mu u taš-me-e uš-ta-aş-bi-tu-uš har-
ra-nu

35. ib-şim ma *išu*kaşta kak-ka-şu ú-ad-di⁴

36. mul-mul-lum uš-tar-ki-ba u-kin-şu ma-at-nu⁵

37. iš-şi-ma *išu*mīṭṭa⁶ im-na-şu ú-şa-hi-iz

38. *išu*kaştam u *masakiš*-pa-tum i-du-uš-şu i-lu-ul⁷

39. iš-kun bi-ir-ku⁸ i-na pa-ni-şu

40. nab-lu⁹ muš-tah-mi-ṭu zu-mur-şu um-ta-al-la¹⁰

¹ The *pala* of Marduk is also referred to in a bilingual hymn to him sung in the Nisan festival at Erech; *tāmīḥ haṭṭu kippal u pa-la-a*, 'Holder of the sceptre, ring, and *pala*', THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels Accadiens*, p. 108, 2. Here *pala* is represented in Sumerian by *bal*, and is a loan-word. *pala* as an emblem is certainly derived from *gisbal* = *pilakku*, axe, hatchet; see SBH. 123, 14, *gisbal* = *i-na pala-a* (BL. 9, 18). For Marduk represented with his *pala* see MENANT, *Glyptique*, ii, p. 60.

² *napištu* perhaps here 'throat'. Cf. HOLMA, *Körperteile*, 42.

³ Literally, 'hearing', being heard by a superior, i.e. obtaining what one seeks from a god or superior.

⁴ Root (*z'*)adū, not to be confused with *idū*, against JENSEN, KB. vi 346, and YLVISAKER, LSS. V⁶, p. 46 n. 5. The verb *yā* know, although it appears in Assyrian as *yā*, is distinct from *ra* fix, decree. The latter meaning of *adū* in the I¹ form is well attested; see UNGNAD, *Babylonische Briefe*, 294; STRECK, *Asurb.* ii 431.

⁵ *matnu*, Arabic *matnun*, Heb. *matnā'im*, Syr. *matnāthā*, hip, hip-sinew, sinew, has been shown to mean 'bow-cord' by HOLMA, *Körperteile*, 6 n. 3, and for *mulmullu*, arrow, see in addition to JENSEN, KB. vi 328, MEISSNER, OLZ. 1913, 216, on the basis of CT. 15, 43, 10, *mulmulli*

29. They added unto him a sceptre, a throne and hatchet.

30. They gave to him the unopposable weapon overwhelming the hateful.

31. "Go and cut off the breath of life of Tiamat.

32. May the winds bear away her blood to a secret place."

33. The gods his fathers determined the fate of Bel.

34. They caused him to take up a journey—a way of success and attainment.³

35. He made ready a bow and decreed it as his weapon.

36. The arrow he caused to ride thereon and the bow-cord he fixed.

37. He lifted the toothed-sickle and grasped it in his right hand.

38. The bow and quiver he hung at his side.

39. The lightning he set before him.

40. With a burning flame was his body filled.

la pādāti ša išu-išpat ilu Bēl, 'The unsparing arrows of the quiver of Bēl'. Var. K. 3437, om. *lum* and reads *u-ki-n-ši*. *mul-mul-la* is said to be the weapon of the hand of Marduk in V R. 46 a 26, where the word is not to be confused with the name of Pleiades, *mulmul*, as WEIDNER maintains, *Handbuch*, 165. In this astronomical text = CT. 33, 3, 23 f., the constellation *gišgan-ur* is called the weapon of the god *A-mal*, for which the gloss has 'arrow of Marduk'. KUGLER, *Sternkunde, Ergänzungen*, 68; 176; 222, identified the constellation *gan-ur* or *makaddu*, *maškakkatu*, i. e. 'harrow star', with Crux or the Southern Cross. There is a slight resemblance to an arrow in the form of Crux and possibly to a harrow also. The passage proves that Marduk's arrow was identified with Crux, a star in the 'Way of Ea', and if *A-mal* and not *Mar-bīti* be the true reading, this ancient god of Babylon is identical with Marduk.

⁶ See RA. 12, 78. l. 13. Var. *ibid.*, *miš-ta*, and see R. 395 Obv. 8. KING, ii 62.

⁷ K. 3437, *lul*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *NIM-GIR*.

⁹ 79-7-8, 251 (CT. 13, 20), l. 5, *nab-la*.

¹⁰ K. 3437, *-li*, and *me* for *mi*.

¹ K. 3437, *kir-biš Ti-amat*. Here begins VAT. 10898.

² *ir-bit-ti ša-a-ri*, K. 3437+79-7-8, 251.

³ 93015, *mi-im-me-ša.* ⁴ VAT. 10898, *šu-u-ti.*

⁵ 93051 (CT. 13, 20), -ru. ⁶ *Ibid.*, *a-na* [*ki-iš-ti*].

⁷ 93016, [a-]bi-. abū in a loose sense, for at any rate in Babylonian religion Marduk was the son of Ea.

³ The Var. *a-na kišti* contains a rare example of *ana* in a pregnant sense, similar to the Hebrew *essentiae*. Cf. also TH.-DANGIN, *Rit. Akk.* 65, 33, *a-na sa-al-ka*, 'as roast meat'.

⁹ 93051, Ša-ar lim-nu me-hu-u.

¹⁰ For the seven winds see BE. 31, 17, 11. 93051, *im-imin-bi-im* and *im-di-a-nu-[di-a]*; VAT. 10898 at the beginning of the line, *im-lammu-bi*.

¹¹ VAT. 10898, om. *am*; 93051, *ša-a-ri*.

¹² 93051, *te*, and *ar-ki*. VAT. 10898, *kir-bi-iš*.

¹³ 93051, *bu* and *kak-ka*. Cf. l. 75. *abubu*, cyclone, flood-storm, Sum. *a-má-rú*, *a-ma-ru*, *mar-rú*, is employed regularly as an epithet of *šár-úr*, weapon of Ningirsu-Ninurta and of Innini, see Gudea, St. B V 37; Cyl. A, X 2; Cyl. B, 7, 14 and PBS. x 274, 18. The *šár-úr* is an

41. He made a net to enfold the belly of Tiamat.
 42. He caused the four winds to come under control
 that nothing of her might escape,
 43. The south-wind, the north-wind, the east-wind, the
 west-wind.
 44. At his side he brought near the net the gift⁸ of
 his father Anu.
 45. He created Imhullu, the evil wind, the Tempest,
 the Hurricane,
 46. The Fourfold-wind, the Sevenfold-wind, the Devas-
 tating-wind, the Unrivalled-wind.
 47. He caused to come forth the winds which he
 created—the seven of them.
 48. To trouble the inward parts of Tiamat they went
 up behind him.
 49. The lord took up the 'Cyclone'¹⁵ his great
 weapon.
 50. He drove the chariot of the storm the unopposable,
 the terrible.

eagle-headed club on monuments of the later period, symbol of Ninurta-Ilbaba, *Dél. Per.* 1, 379, and a kind of spear, Gud. Cyl. A, 22, 20. By association with names of weapons *amaru* = *abubu* came to mean a weapon, more especially the weapon of Ninurta in his combat with Tiamat, see SBP. 232, 8-12, later transferred to Marduk in Semitic legend. It also means quiver, *kuša-má-rú* = *išpatu*, K. 4411, Rev. 18; RTC. 222 II 8; Ishtar *mar-rú šu-šu-il-la* 'carries in her hand the *abubu* = *išpatu*', SBH. 105, 22. JENSFN's theory to account for the application of *abubu*, 'flood-storm', to a weapon, 'the cyclone', is expounded in KB. vi 332: 563. He suggested that the original meaning of *abubu* is 'light waves', storm of light rays, and then took on the meaning 'rain-storm'. That is probably erroneous. The word *abubu* (*amaru*) came to mean weapon because the spear or quiver were spoken of as the 'cyclone of battle'.

¹⁴ 93051 adds *-am*.

¹⁵ See the description of Ašur in MEISSNER-ROST, *Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, 98, 7.

¹⁶ 93051, *ru, tum, ka-ab*. For this line cf. II 181, and MEISSNER-ROST, *ibid.*, *ina narkabti ša rakbu abubu* [*ša pa-]ak-du*, 'How he rode in a

51. iş-mid-sim¹-ma ir-bit¹ na-aş-ma-di¹ i-du-uš-şa i-lul¹
52. [şa]-gi-şu² la pa-du-u ra-hi-şu mu-up-pár-şu³
53. zak-tu-ti⁴ şin-na-şu-nu na-şa-a⁵ im-ta⁶
54. a[ra-]ha⁷ i-du-u sa-pa-na lam-du
55. []-zi-giş im-[ha]-şa⁸ ra-aş-ba⁹ tu-ku-un-tum
56. şu-me-la¹⁰ a na¹¹ a i-pat-tu en-
.
57. na-ah-lap-ti¹² ap-luh-ti¹² pul-ḥa-ti ha-lip-ma
58. me-lam-mi ra¹³-şub-ba-[ti a-]pi-ir ra-şu-uš-şu
59. uš-te-şir-ma be-lum [ur-]ha-şu ú-şar-di-ma
60. aş-riş Tiamat şa [ag-]gat¹⁴ pa-nu-uš-şu iš-kun
61. i-na şap-ti-[şu] şarşerri¹⁵ u-kal-lu
62. şam-mi im-ta bul-li-i¹⁶ ta-me-iḥ rit-tuš-şu

chariot, how he was master of the "cyclone"; description of Aşur's combat with Tiamat.

¹ 93051, šum, IV, du, lu-ul. VAT. 10898, iş-mi-is-si.

² VAT. 10898, şa-ag-gi-şu. ³ K. 3437, şá.

⁴ Restored by 10898. EBELING, *Weltschöpfungslied*, p. 86, mentions a new fragment, VAT. 10579, which begins here.

⁵ şinnu first Mas. then Fem. Pl.! naşā, Prm. Fem. Pl. in circumstantial clause.

⁶ 93051, tum.

⁷ a- -ḥa on VAT. 10579 + 10898. The restoration arāḥa is made by EBELING, probably not arāḥu, hasten, but arāḥu, consume, eat up. On this root see PSBA. 1914, 28. See also Maklu, i 116, aruḥ limnūti-ḥa, and VI 54, urrihanni; SBP. 4, 14.

⁸ Restorations from VAT. 10579.

⁹ ra'ābu, blaze, see JRAS. 1921, 573.

¹⁰ VAT. 10579, lam.

¹¹ So 10579, but K. 3437, MUH(?) = eli.

¹² Var. [subat TIG]-UD-DU. The gā-en = kaunakes is the ancient

51. He yoked up for it four span and hitched them beside it,

52. 'The destroyer', 'The Merciless', 'The Stormer', 'The Swift-pacing',

53. Sharp were their teeth, bearing poison;

54. They knew how to consume and they learned to trample down.

55. Like they smote, being fiery in battle.

56. On the left

57. He was clad in a kaunakes, a panoply of terribleness.

58. With a sheen of flames was his head clothed.

59. The lord proceeded swiftly and pursued his way.

60. Toward the place of Tiamat who was enraged he set his face,

61. Holding in his lips a of red paste.

62. Grasping in his hand the 'Plant of extinguishing poison.'

heavy garment woven to imitate a fleece, see JRAS. 1920, 373. For *aplūtu*, shield, coat of mail, and also javelin or toothed sickle, see RA. 12, 79 n. 1. The kaunakes serves as a coat of mail in ancient warfare, and it is worn by Eannatum and his warriors as represented on the Stele of the Vultures. See HEUZEY and THUREAU-DANGIN, *Restitution matérielle de la Stèle des Vautours*, Pl. II.

¹³ Also CT. 13, 16, 58, probably after *mi* read *ra-šub*. Restored from VAT. 10579.

¹⁴ Cf. I 43, *ug-gu-gat*, but there is not space enough for this word. VAT. 10579, *ta-mi-a-ti ša* [. . . .]

¹⁵ So restored by ZIMMERN from K. 10008, 15, in *Hommel-Festschrift*, 223. VAT. 10579, [*sap-*]te-e-šu. The restoration *eni*, or *enam*, by ZIMMERN is suggested by H. SCHNEIDER, who refers to the importance attached to the Horus-eye in Egyptian. This conjecture is not plausible in an Assyrian text. The broken text has only *IM-DIRIG*, which may represent *urpatu*, storm-cloud.

¹⁶ Restored from K. 10008, 16, and VAT. 10579, *bu-ul-li-[i]*; *ibid.*, *im-ti*.

63. i-na û-mi-šu i-dul-lu-šu ilāni i-dul-lu-šu¹

64. ilāni abē-šu i-dul-lu-šu ilāni i-dul-lu-šu

65. it-ḥi-ma be-lum ḫab-lu-uš² *ilat* Ti-ä-ṣa-ti i-bar-ri

66. ša *ilu* Kin-gu ḥa-’i-ri-ša i-še-’e-a me-ki-šu³

67. i-na-aṭ-ṭal-ma e-ši ma-lak⁴šu

68. sa-pi-iḥ ṭe-ma-šu-ma si-ḥa-ti⁵ ep-ṣit-su

69. ù ilāni ri-šu-šu a-li-ku i-di-šu

70. i-mu-ru-[ma] ḫar-da a-ša-ri-du ni-ṭil-šu-un i-ši

71. id-di [ta-a-ša]⁶ Ti-amat ul u-ta-ri ki-šad-sa

72. i-na šap-ti-ša lul-la-a⁷ u-kal sar-ra-a-ti

73. [ka]b-ta-[ta aš-]ru ša be-lum ilāni ti-bu-ka

74. [aš-]ru-uš-šu-un⁸ ip-ḥu-ru šu-nu aš-ruk-ka

75. [iš-ši-]ma⁹ be-lum a-bu-ba kakka-šu raba-a

76. [a-ma-ta] ana Ti-]amat ša ik-mi-lu ki-a-am iš-
pur-ši

77. [ka-a-ti-ma ra]¹⁰-ba-a-ti e-liš na-ša-ti-[ma]

¹ *dālu*, Prt. *idūl*, Prs. *iddūl*, MUSS-ARNOLT, *Lexicon*, 247. Naturally a derivation from *naṭālu*, see [DELITZSCH, KING, DHORME, EBELING], or *dalālu*, adore, is impossible, see JENSEN's protest in KB. vi 334. According to ZDMG. 66, 770, the late Hebrew נְלָלָה is the cognate. See GESENIUS-BUHL under נְלָלָה, and ZIMMERN, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, 7. The Assyrian root is *fīlu*, for which *dālu* is a corrupt form. Note that l. 69 also defends the view taken here of l. 63.

² *kabluš* and *kirbiš* (l. 41) are really prepositions, see PSBA. 1909, 113.

³ See note on I 60.

⁴ *malak* is taken for *mālaku*, way, walk, by KING, UNGNAD, and DHORME, and as Inf. *malāku*, to counsel, plan, by JENSEN. Also

63. Then they hastened unto him, the gods hastened unto him.

64. The gods his fathers hastened unto him, the gods hastened unto him.

65. The lord drew nigh peering into the inward parts of Tiamat.

66. He perceived the open jaws of Kingu her husband,

67. Gazing, and his self-control faltered.

68. Distracted was his will, disordered became his actions.

69. And the gods his helpers, they that went beside him,

70. Saw the hero, the champion, and faint became their sight.

71. Tiamat cast her curse turning not back her neck,

72. Upon verbose lips maintaining rebellion, (saying) :

73. 'Thou hast been honoured to the place of lord of the gods who rise up for thee.'

74. From their places they have assembled in thy place.'

75. The lord took up the 'Cyclone' his great weapon.

76. Unto Tiamat who raged he thus addressed her :

77. "As for thee thou art become great, thou hast been lifted up on high."

malāku, tongue, AJSL. 30, 77; ZA. 33, 18, 10 is a possibility. *mála^{ku}*, way, course, cannot be employed for the act of walking, and only *malāku*, to counsel, seems to accommodate the verb *ešša*, for which see I 22.

⁵ Probably an adjective and a nominal clause. For *sahša*, Adj., see STRECK, *Assurb.* iii 573.

⁶ Or restore *TU*, Br. 779 (?). Cf. l. 91. DHORME supplied *ri-ig-ma*.

⁷ Cf. *lu-la ša pi-ia*, Craig, RT. 8, 10.

⁸ For the ending *u* in the sense of *ištu*, see DELITZSCH, *Assyr. Gram.* p. 226, and MEISSNER, *Assyr. Gram.* p. 62, g. First line on K. 5420, C (CT. 13, 21).

⁹ Cf. l. 49.

¹⁰ EBELING restores *šur-ba-a-ti*.

78. [ub-la lib-]ba-ki-ma di-ki a-na-an-[ti]

79.¹ abê-šu-nu i-da-

80. šu-nu ta-zi-ri² ri-e

81. [tu-ša-aš-ki *ilu*]Kin-]gu a-na ḥa'-i-ru-ti-ma (?)

82. [tu-šar-bi par-ṣa]-ṣu a-na³ pa-ra-aş (ilu) an-nu-ti

83. [ep-še-e-ti lim-]ni'-e-ti te-eš-[e⁴-e-ma]

84. [a-na] ilāni abê-e-a li-mut-ta-ki⁵ tuk-tin-ni

85. [lu ṣa]-an-da-at⁶ um-mat-ki lu rit-ku-su šu-nu
kakkê-ki

86. en-di-im-ma a-na-ku u ka-a-ši⁷ ni-pu-uš ša-aš-ma

87. Ti-amat an-ni-ta i-na še-mi-ṣa⁸

88. mah-ḥu-taš¹⁰ i-te-mi u-ṣa-an-ni¹⁰ ṭe-en-ṣa

89. is-si-ma Ti-amat šit-mu-riš¹¹ e-li-ta

90. šur-šíš ma-al-ma-liš it-ru-ra¹² iš-da-a-[ṣa]¹²

91. i-man-ni šip-ta it-ta-nam-di ta-a-ṣa¹³

92. ù ilāni ṣa taḥāzi ú-ṣa-a'-lu¹⁴ šu-nu kakkê-ṣu-[un]¹⁵

93. in-nin-du-ma Ti-amat abkal ilāni *ilu*Marduk

94. ṣa-aš-meš it-tib-bu Ḫit-ru-bu ta-ḥa-z-i-ṣ

¹ JENSEN, [*ilāni rešé-ki ṣa*] and at end *i-da-aş-ṣu-ma*. EBELING, *i-da-ṣu* DHORME, *i-da-laḥ*.

² K. 5420, *zir-ri*.

³ For *ana* with comparative force (= *eli*) cf. K. 1290, 3, šūkur zikir-ṣina ana Ištārāti, 'Their name is made more precious than goddesses'. askufti bili ana tarbaşı iškū, 'The lintel was higher than the court', K. 196 IV 14.

⁴ K. 3437, *te-še'-e-e-ma*.

⁵ K. 5420, *ka!*

⁶ For *ṣamādu* in this general sense, see DEL. H.W. 570 b. Cf. UNGNAD, VAB. vi 368.

⁷ 93051 R. 2, *ṣu*.

78. Thy heart has prompted thee to summon to conflict.

79. their fathers

80. their thou hast cursed

81. Thou hast exalted Kingu unto marriage.

82. [Thou hast made his decree greater] than the decree of Anu.

83. [Evil deeds] thou seekest and

84. Against the gods my fathers thou hast established thy wickedness.

85. Let thy host be equipped and let thy weapons be girded on.

86. Stand thou by and let us, me and thee, make battle.”⁸

87. When Tiamat heard this

88. She became like one in frenzy and her will was unbalanced.

89. Loudly cried Tiamat like one raging.

90. Unto her foundations her limbs trembled equally,

91. As she recited an incantation, and uttered a curse,

92. And the gods of battle sharpened¹⁶ their weapons.

93. They clashed—Tiamat and the counsellor of the gods.

94. They went up to battle, they approached in combat.

⁸ *šašmu* in list of words for battle *tahāzu ša šabē*, *mahāšu ša šabē*, *subārum*, all explanations for Sumerian *sagdudu*, SAI. 7773; CT. 12,

26 a 37-41 = CT. 35, 3, 4.

⁹ 93051, *ina še-me-e-šu*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *ti-iš* and *nu*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, *ri-iš*.

¹² *Ibid.*, *ru, šu*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, *šu*.

¹⁴ K. 5420, *u-ša'-a-lu*, i.e. Prs.

¹⁵ 93051, *kak-ki-šu*.

¹⁶ *šelu*, be sharp, is certain. Note especially *mašeldu*, whetstone, KNUDTZON, *Amarna Lett.*, cited by EBFLING, *Quellen*, ii 62, and *šelūtu*, sharpness, KB. i 164, 42; TH.-D., *Sargon*, 18; *ulme sélūti*, sharp javelins, LEHMANN-HAUPP, *Shamash shumukin*, L⁴ II 17; *šeltu*, blade of a sword, TH.-D., *Sargon*, 99, 393.

95. uš-pa-ri-ir-ma be-lum sa-pa-ra-šu ú-šal-mi¹-ši

96. im-ḥul²-lu³ ṣa-bit ar-ka-ti⁴ pa-nu-uš-šu³ um-taš-šir

97. ip-te-ma pi-i-ša Tiamat a-na la-'-a-ti-šu⁵

98. im-ḥul-la uš-te-ri-ba a-na la ka-tam šap-ti-šu

99. iz-zu-ti⁷ šārē kar-ša-ša i-ṣa-nu-ma

100. in-ni-ḥaz⁹ lib-ba-ṣa-ma pa-a-ṣa uš-pal-ki

101. is-suk¹¹ mul-mul-la¹² iḥ-te-pi ka-ras-sa

102. Ḫir-bi-ṣa u-bat-ti-ka u-šal-liṭ lib-ba

103. ik-mi-ṣi-ma nap-ṣa-taš¹³ ú-bal-li

104. ṣa-lam-ṣa¹⁴ id-da-a eli-ṣa i-za-za¹⁴

105. ul-tu Tiamat a-lik pa-ni i-na-ru

106. ki-iṣ-ri-ṣa up-tar-ri-ra pu-ḥur-ṣa is-sap-ḥa

107. ù ilāni ri-ṣu-ṣa a-li-ku i-di-ṣa

108. it-tar-ru ip-la-ḥu ú-sah-ḥi-ru¹⁶ ar-kat¹⁷-su-un

¹ K. 5420, *me*.

² So read, CT. 13, 18, 96 for *u*.

³ K. 5420, *la* and *pa-nu-uš-ṣa*.

⁴ Cf. l. 45 and l. 48, *tibū arki-ṣu*.

⁵ K. 5420, *ṣa*. *la'ātu* = *la'ātu*, *טַהַת*, late Hebrew *טַהַת*. See MEISSNER, MVAG. 1910, 515.

⁶ Var. 'for her consuming (him)'.

⁷ K. 5420, *tum*.

⁸ JENSEN regards *isánu* as a Prs. in circumstantial clause and the final *u* as 'overhanging *u*', and compares *ukallu*, l. 61, &c.

⁹ So DELITZSCH, DHORME, ZIMMERN (?), on analogy of *na-an-ḥu-us*, he is obsessed (with pain), IV R. 54, 19. JENSEN suggests *in-ni-kud* from *nakādu*, be anxious, but offers no translation. EBELING, *in-ni-sil*, 'was lamed', from *eṣelu* bind, for which meaning see HOLMA, *Personennamen der Form kuṭṭulu*, p. 31, but hardly applicable to the heart. A reading *inniḥaš* from *nahāšu*, be satiated, would suit the context best, but *nahāšu* is used only in the sense of 'be satiated with happiness, riches'.

95. The lord spread out his net and enmeshed her.
 96. The Imhullu, following after, he let loose in her face.
 97. Tiamat opened her mouth to consume him.⁶
 98. He caused Imhullu to enter that she could not close her lips.
 99. The raging winds filled ⁸ her belly.
 100. Obsessed was her heart¹⁰ and she extended wide her mouth.
 101. He let loose an arrow, it tore her belly.
 102. It severed her inward parts, it rent asunder the heart.
 103. He bound her and quenched her breath of life.
 104. He cast down her corpse, standing upon her (it).
 105. After he had slain Tiamat the leader,
 106. Her troops¹⁵ were disseminated, her host was scattered.
 107. And the gods, her helpers, who went beside her.
 108. They trembled, they feared, they turned their backs.¹⁸

¹⁰ i. e. with pain (?).

¹¹ For *nasāku*, throw, let fall, cf. *kirbanam izzuk*, VAB. v 276, 4; *lisuku-šu kirbanu*, KAR. 114, 7 and ZA. 31, 116, 25 f.

¹² *mulmullu*, certainly arrow. In a pantomime taken from this poem the *mulmullu* are carried in a quiver (*ša iṣu iṣ-pat iu Bēl*). CT. 15, 44, 10 f.

¹³ K. 5420, *tuš*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *ša-lam-taš*; *iz-zi-za* (he stood). 79-7-8, 251, Rev. also *ša-lam-taš*.

¹⁵ Here the *ki ru* or troops of Tiamat are first mentioned and distinguished from the eleven monsters, the *ilāni bukri-ša*, who formed her host, I 146, and below, l. 115. For the meaning of *ki ru* see MANITIUS, ZA. 24, 114 ff. VAT. 10898, *ki-iṣ-ru-ša*.

¹⁶ K. 5420, *ra* and *al-kat-su-un*. For *r>l* before *k* cf. *birku>bilkū*, RA. 9, 77 II 13.

¹⁷ For *arkatu*, back, see HOLMA, *Körperteile*, 64.

¹⁸ Var. 'They turned back their course', is not likely. See n. 17 for *alkatu*, 'back'.

109. u-še-ṣu-ma nap-ša-tuš¹ e-ṭi-ru110. ni-ta³ la-mu-ú na-pár-ṣu-diš la li'-e-e⁴111. i-sir-⁵ṣu-nu-ti-ma kakkê-ṣu-nu ú-ṣab-bir112. sa-pa-riš⁶ na-du-ma ka-ma-riš uš-bu113. en-du ṭub-ka-a-ti⁷ ma-lu-ú du-ma-mu114. še-rit-su⁸ na-ṣu-ú ka-lu-u ki-ṣuk-kiš115. û¹⁰ iš-ten eš-rit nab-ni-ti šu-ut pul-ḥa-ti i-ṣa-nu¹¹116. mi-il-la¹² gal-li-e a-li-ku ka-a[d-riš p̄a-]ni-ṣa

¹ The ending š in cases of this kind serves as a determinative ending as the 3rd Per. pronoun *hū* serves as a definite article in Ethiopic, for both singular and plural. Cf. BROCKELMANN, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 470 β and p. 409 k, on the ending *itū*. š in Assyrian naturally represents ū. Nouns ending in š determinate are not to be confused with the adverbial and prepositional forms -iš, -uš, as in *kirbiš*, *libbūš*, *idūš*, *idūššu*, for the origin of which see PSBA. 1909, 110.

² 'They caused (their souls *napšāti-ṣunu*) to come away.' For this reflexive use of causative forms see BROCKELMANN, *opus laud.* 527.

³ On the expression *nīta lamū* see STRECK, *Assurb.* ii 329 n. 8. VAT. 10898, *ni-i-ta*.

⁴ K. 5420, *di-iš*. *l̄u* is usually followed by the infinitive in accusative, but here in acc. with š determinative. -iš for -aš, by analogy with adverbial ending iš.

⁵ VAT. 10898, *-si-ra-ṣu-nu*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *ri-iš*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *en-du tu-[ub . . .]*. *tubkātu* certainly same root as *tubkīnu*, *tubkītu*, cave, secret chamber (I 64), from Arab. *ṭabak*, cover, obscure. Note Sum. *ub* = *tubku*, 'chamber of the earth, region, and *ṣuttatu*, &c., cave, cavern; see Sum. Gr. 250. For this passage cf. *tubkāti e-mid*. KB. vi 298, 22.

⁸ VAT. 10898, *še-ri-is-su*.

⁹ Lines 106–14 describe the troops of Tiamat who were bound and imprisoned. These seem to be referred to in the fragmentary poem, published by PINCHES, PSBA. 1908, 80–2, and cf. my BE. 31, 35 and ZIMMERN, *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrsfest*², 49. Here they are called

109. They sought to extricate themselves² that they might save (their souls).

110. They were encircled by restraint so that it was not possible to flee.

111. He bound them and broke their weapons.

112. Into a net were they thrown and in the snare they sat down.

113. They stood in secret chambers, being filled with lamentation.

114. They bore his punishment being bound in prison.³

115. And the eleven creatures whom she had equipped with terribleness,

116. The host of demons who went *impetuously before her*,

the *ilāni šabtutu*, 'The captured gods', the seven sons of Enmešarra who are set free by Nergal, but Marduk again threatens to afflict them. ZIMMERN also refers to a passage SBH. 146, 42, where Enmesarra himself was bound and wept for by Gula. The seven children of Enmešarra, god of the lower world and of vegetation are also lower world deities (see RA. 16, 151 f.). They are referred to in CT. 17, 37, 1 as *ilāni kamúti ištu kabrim itá:áni*, 'The bound gods who ascend from the grave'. And again in a ritual IV R. 21* a 16 they are referred to in this way; *ana iuu Ningišzida . . . ilāni kamútu lil-li(?)-ku(?)*. Ningišzida, a deity of vegetation, also belongs to the underworld pantheon. These deities of the underworld, who were originally followers of Tiamat, were bound and cast into Arallû by Marduk, or in the original version by Ninurta. They are also called *asakku*, or the seven *asakki mar d. Anim kišitti d. Ninurta*, sons of Anu and conquest of Ninurta, KAR.

142 II 9 f. Their names as pest demons (*asakku*, see *Sum. Gr.* 204) were given, *ibid.* I 39–41; III R. 69, no. 3 gives their number as nine. Their names as pest demons are, of course, different from their names as sons of Enmešarra and patrons of vegetation. In Tablet VII 27 Marduk is said to have had mercy upon these bound gods of the underworld, and to have created mankind out of compassion for them. This meaning of the place of mankind in the divine order probably refers to the land of the dead to which men finally pass and become the subjects of the gods of the lower world.

¹⁰ VAT. 10898 omits *u.*

¹¹ K. 3437, *sa-[nu]*, Prm. Pl.

¹² VAT. 10898 has *SAB-ni = ummāni*, host. But CT. 13, 15, 1,

117. it-ta-ad¹-di šir-ri-e-ti i-di-šu-nu
118. ga-du tuč-ma-ti-šu-nu ša-pal-šu [ik]-bu-us²
119. ù *ilu*Kin-gu ša ir-tab-bu-ú³ ina [bi-ri]⁴-šu-un
120. ik-mi-šu-ma it-ti *ilu*Digge-e šu-a-[ti] im-ni-šu
121. i-kim-šu-ma dupšimāti [la si-ma]-ti-šu⁶
122. i-na ki-sib-bi⁷ ik-nu-kam-ma ir-tu-uš⁷ it-mu-úh
123. iš-tu lim-ni-šu ik-mu-ú i-sa-du
124. ai-bu⁸ mut-ta-'i-du⁸ u-ša-bu-u šu-ri-šam⁹
125. ir-nit-ti An-šar e-li¹⁰ na-ki-ru¹⁰ ka-li-iš uš-zi-zu
126. ni-is-mat¹¹ *ilu*Nu-dim-mud ik-šu-du *ilu*Marduk
kar-du
127. e-li ilāni ka-mu-tum¹² ši-bit-ta-šu u-dan-nin-ma

gāl-lá-meš, i. e. *galle*; *millu* was omitted on this text. ZIMMERN translated the word by host, troop, and his suggestion is confirmed by the new variant.

¹ K. 3437 omits. First line on Rm. 2, 83 (CT. 13, 19).

² On 93016. ³ Rm. 2, 83, *ir-ta-bu-ú*.

⁴ KING, *e-li*; but on CT. 13, 21 the sign may be *bi*. Cf. I 147.

⁵ *ilu*Dig-ga = *Diggā*, Semiticized. *Diggā* is a name of Nergal, and hence *Kingu* was also counted among the bound gods in Arallu. For ^a*Dig-ga* see PBS. x 130, 37 and ^{mul}*Dig-ga*, CT. 26, 42 II 14, star of Nergal. In a ritual, RA. 16, 154, ^aKin-gu-gu is identified with the original deity of the under-world, Enmesarra = Enlil, and is one of the seven Enliils or under-world gods (*kišitti*) ‘of conquest’, i. e. captured by Ninurta-Marduk. In a mystic pantomime, CT. 15, 44, 8-9, a sheep which is burned in fire represents Kingu who had been burned. See ZIMMERN, *Neujahrsfest*¹, p. 131. Hence a legend concerning the burning of Kingu existed, and ZIMMERN believes that the vision of the burning of one of the four beasts which represents the heathendom in *Daniel* 7, 11, and the casting of the devil into a lake of fire in the Apocalypse of St. John 20, 10, are based upon this form of the legend of Kingu.

117. He laid cords upon their hand(s) he
118. Them together with their opposition he trampled under foot.
119. And Kingu who had become chief among them
120. He bound and he counted him with the god Diggū.⁵
121. He took from him the tablets of fate which were not his rightful possession.
122. He sealed them with a seal and fastened them to his breast.
123. After he had bound his foes or had slain them,
124. And had overpowered the arrogant foe like a *bull* (?),
125. And had fully established the victory of Anšar over the foes,
126. And had attained the desire of Nudimmud—he the valiant Marduk,
127. Upon the bound gods he strengthened his durance.

⁶ Rm. 2, 83, *la si-mat-[su]*. ⁷ VAT. 10898, *ba*. Rm. 2, 83, *ir-suš*.

⁸ Rm. 2, 83, *ai-bi mut-ta-du*.

⁹ *ušabú*, here taken for II¹ of *šabú*, overpower, is usually read *u-ša-pu-ú* by other editors, III¹ of *apú*, but *šúpú* cannot be used in a factitive sense ‘to make into’. DHORME reads *katrišam* ‘il [les] fit en battus’, but where does *katri* have this sense? and his rendering of *šáptu* is not possible. Also EBELING commits the same error with his reading *ušaptú-šú ri-šam*, ‘he made them into slaves’. *mutta’idu* naturally I² Part. of *na’ādu*, boast, praise. *šúrišam* might be from *šúru*, wind, *šúru*, bull, *šúru*, harvested reed, or perhaps *surrišam*, quickly.

¹⁰ Rm. 2, 83, *eli, ri*. Cf. Tab. I 74.

¹¹ The root meaning of *nismatu* can perhaps be determined from the Sumerian equivalent *kur-zíd-da*, CT. 21, 50, 15, *kur-zíd*, CT. 15, 11, 6, Var. *kur-zí(d)*, KL. 2 R. 28. This word contains apparently the root *zid>zi = napištu*, breath. A variant is *na-si-mat* (*ilüti-ka*), BA. V 673, 12. Despite the violation of the rule of sibilants *nismatu* and *ni-[is-mu?]* PSBA. 1910, 20, 20, appears to be the cognate of Arabic *nasamun*, breath, soul, Hebrew *nešāmā*. See SBP. 198 n. 5.

¹² Rm. 2, 83, *ka-mu-ú-ti*. Cf. *ud-dan-nin mar-kas-si-šu-nu*, BE. 31,

128. ši-ri-iš Ti-amat¹ ša ik-mu-ú i-tu-ra ar-ki-iš
 129. ik-bu-us-ma be-lum ša ti-a-ma-tum i-sid-sa
 130. i-na mi-ti-šu la pa-di-i ú-nat-ti² mu-úh-ha
 131. u-par-ri'-i-ma uš-la-at da-mi-ša
 132. ša-a-ru il-ta-nu a-na pu-uz-rat uš-ta-bil
 133. i-mu-ru-ma ab-bu-šu iħ-du-ú i-ri-šu
 134. igisi-e šul-ma-nu ú-ša-bi-lu šu-nu a-na ša-a-šu
 135. i-nu-úh-ma be-lum ša-lam-tu-uš i-bar-ri
 136. šir ku-pu⁴ u-za-a-zu i-ban-na-a nik-la-a-ti
 137. iħ-pi-ši-ma ki-ma nu-nu maš-di-e a-na šina-šu
 138. mi-iš-lu-uš-ša iš-ku-nam-ma ša-ma-ma u-ša-al-lil
 139. iš-du-ud par-ku ma-aş-şa-ru u-ša-aş-bi-it.
 140. me-e-ša la šu-şa-a šu-nu-ti um-ta-'i-ir
 141. šami-e i-bi-ir⁷ áš-ra-tum i-hi-ṭam-ma
 142. uš-tam-hi-ir mi-iħ-rat⁸ apši šu-bat ^{ilu}Nu-dim-mud.

35 n. 4, 1. Here the ‘bound gods’ include the *kisru* (106) who were cast into the lower world and became the sons of Enmešarra and the pest demons (*asakke'*), as well as the eleven monsters who were chained to the stars. For the constellations to which these monsters were bound see Tab. I 140-2. In a hymn to Marduk, CRAIG, RT. 29, 15-17, which refers to these constellations with a few variant readings, the list ends *u-za-iz-su-nu-ti*, ‘he apportioned them’, i.e. assigned them to constellations.

¹ Rm. 2, 83, *Ti-ä-qa-ti*.

² A reading *u-lat-ti* also possible, but less probable, from *letū*, break, crush, Sum. *dar*, *tar*, Syl. C, 65; CT. 18, 32 a 19-21; 12, 5 a 9; 12, 15 b 45. See on this root, Tab. I 134.

³ Tiamat’s blood is taken to the far south, wherefore JENSEN suggests that the legend may be connected with the origin of the name ‘Red Sea’, originally applied by the Greeks to the Arabian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

128. Unto Tiamat whom he had bound he returned again.

129. The lord trod upon her hinder part,

130. With his toothed sickle he split (her) scalp.

131. He severed the arteries of her blood.

132. The north-wind carried it away unto hidden places.³

133. His fathers saw and were glad shouting for joy.

134. Gifts and presents they caused to be brought unto him.

135. The lord rested beholding the cadaver,

136. As he divided the monster, devising cunning things.

137. He split her into two parts, like an oyster.⁴

138. Half of her he set up and made the heavens as a covering.

139. He slid the bolt and caused watchmen to be stationed.

140. He directed them not to let her⁵ waters come forth.

141. He explored the heavens, he paced the spaces.

142. He set over against (the heavens) the abode of Nudimmud on the face of the Deep.

⁴ *širkāpu*, loan-word; see THUREAU-DANGIN, RA. 19, 81, and HOLMA, *Körperteile*, p. 2.

⁵ *nūnu mašdūl*, 'The closed fish', probably mussel-fish or oyster, ZIMMERN, OLZ. 1917, 104.

⁶ *ša* is taken by KING and UNGNAD to refer to Tiamat. DHORME takes *šamama* as the antecedent, but *šamāmu* is probably of masculine gender.

⁷ The word may be taken from *ebēru*, to cross, *ebēru*, bind, or *bāru*, examine, see. For *ebēru*, bind, cf. Marduk *e-bir šami-e šāpiku irši-tim*, 'who secures the heavens and heaps up the earth'; and Zarpanit *e-bi-rat šami-e šāpika-át ir-i-tim*, TH.-D. *Rituels*, 134, 240: 254. A verb *bāru* = *barā* is well authenticated, and for its use as a synonym of *hātu*, pace across, guard, examine (STRECK, *Bab.* ii 56 ff.), see WINCKLER, *For.* ii 40, 28, *a-hi-iṭ a-bi-ir-ma*. It is difficult to decide concerning these alternatives. See Book VII 109.

⁸ Same expression for the foundation of a temple on the water-level or 'face of Apsu', VAB. iv 86 ii 18. *šubat* [Nudimmud] in apposition

143. im-šu-úh-ma be-lum ša apšî bi-nu-tu-uš-šu

144. éš-gal-la tam-ši-la-šu u-ki-in É-šár-ra¹

145. [éš-gal-la É-šár-ra ša ib-nu-ú ša-ma-mu]

146. *ilu* A-nim *ilu* En-lil u *ilu* E-a ma-ḥa-zí-šu-un uš-ram-ma

COLOPHON.⁴

146—am šumāti duppu 4-kam-ma e-nu-ma e-lis la
gamir
ki-ī pi-i *iyu* li-ū-um ša a-na pi-i ša-ṭa-ri šu-ul-lu-pu
šaṭ-ru "Nabu-bêl-šu [mar⁵] Na'id-Marduk apil amel
nappaḥi ana balaṭ napšati-šu
u balat (?)⁶ bîti-šu iš-ṭur-ma ina E-zi-da u-kín

FIFTH TABLET

1. u-ba-aš-sim ma-an⁷-za-za an ilāni ra-bi-ú-tum

with *apsû*, KING, *Creat.* i 199, 24, but here rather the object of the verb. In defence of my rendering of the passage Tab. I 71 should be compared.

¹ Esarra = *bit kissutti*, KAR. 122, 5; 'House of the universe', a name for the earth and Syn. of Ekur. Cf. II R. 59, 21. *d.Sahūn rābiy* É-šár-ra, with Var. CT. 24, 8, 11, E-kur (l. 15). As name of part of the temple Ekur at Nippur, see SBP. 221 n. 7.

² All editors render 'as or like heaven', but that conveys no meaning, and there is no word for *as* or *like* here. Or if *šamamu* be taken in apposition with Esarra, i. e. 'E. which he built as (a canopy of) heaven', the interpretation violates the meaning of Esarra = earth. Since in the late period Esarra was also the name of a part of Eanna, temple of Anu in Erech, Th.-D. *Rituels*, 77 Rev. 2, and a temple in Erech, centre of the cult of Anu, was also called *biteš-gal*, the line appears to be a late gloss to explain *éšgal* not as earth but as heaven, or a title of an Anu temple.

³ i. e. Šamamu, Esarra, and Apsû, the abodes of Anu, Enlil, and Ea respectively.

143. The lord measured the dimension of Apsû.
 144. A vast abode its counterpart he fixed—even
 Ešarra.
 145. [The vast abode Ešarra which he built is heaven].²
 146. He caused Anu, Enlil and Ea to occupy their
 abodes.³

COLOPHON.⁴

146 lines. Tablet 4 of *Enuma eliš*: not finished.

According to a tablet which was damaged in its text.
 Writing of Nabubelshu [son] of Na'id-Marduk the
 smith. For the life of his soul
 and for the life of his house he wrote it and put it in
 Ezida.

FIFTH TABLET

1. He constructed stations for the great gods.⁵

⁴ From 93015.

⁵ The sign *TUR* = *maru* is omitted.

⁶ Text *zi-hi!* error for *zi-din*.

⁷ Text from catch-line of 93016; K. 3567 (CT. 13, 22) has *gal-gal* for *rabūti*; K. 8526 (CT. 13, 23) *gal-meš*. BEZOLD in BOLL's *Antike Beobachtungen* reads *manzāzān ilāni*.

⁸ The word *manzazu*, station, when used of the planets has the same meaning as the Greek *ὑψώμα*, 'exaltation', that is the sign of the zodiac in which any given planet was supposed to be most influential upon nature and the affairs of mankind. The Babylonian 'stations' appear to have been fixed arbitrarily, and as such they were borrowed by the Greeks. The word *bitu*, 'house', seems to have been used in the same sense, see WEIDNER, OLZ. 1912, 115, where *bit d.Dilbat*, or 'House of Venus' apparently = *kakkuru bit ri-[ik-si nānī]*, 'Region of the house of the Band of Pisces', and the Hypsoma of Venus was Pisces in Babylonian and Greek astrology. But *bitu* usually means simply 'sign of the zodiac'. In Greek astrology the 'Houses' of the planets are entirely different from the *Hypsomata*. WEIDNER, OLZ. 1913, 208, commenting upon the text in KING, *Creat.* ii, Pl. 69, has

2. kakkabāni tam-šil-šu-nu lu-ma-ši uš-zí-iz

convincingly proven that *kakkar nisirtum*, or 'sign of the mystery' of the moon corresponds to the constellations *Sugi* (Perseus) and *Mul-mus* (Taurus), and the Hypsoma of the moon in Greek astrology was also Taurus. The same text gives the constellation *Ku-Mal* (Aries) as the 'sign of mystery' of the sun, which also agrees with the Greek Hypsoma of the sun. The same text gave the Hypsoma of Mars as *Enzu*(?) (Capricorn), which is also the Greek Hypsoma. [The remaining argument of WEIDNER based upon HARPER, *Letters*, 519, is erroneous.] HERZFELD, OLZ, 1919, 213, cites the Arabic system of the Hypsomata, taken from pillars of a bridge at Djazirat ibn 'Omar on the Tigris, north of Mosul. These agree with the Greek scheme with the exception of the sign for the sun's Hypsoma, which is here given as Leo (the House of the sun in Greek astrology). On the basis of this information it may be assumed that the Babylonian system was the source of all the ancient theories of 'exaltations', 'signs of mystery', or in Arabic the *ṣárafūn*, 'top'. The Hypsoma of Jupiter can be fixed by THOMPSON, *Reports*, no. 187. Here the astronomer states that Jupiter arose heliacally before the sign *Al-lul* (Cancer), and later in his report he says that 'Jupiter appeared *ina manzazi-šu kínū*, in his true or faithful station', and since Cancer was the Hypsoma of Jupiter, obviously *manzazu kínū* means the station in which a planet was most powerful with respect to divination. For *manzazu* used in the sense of Hypsoma note also VIROLLEAUD, *Ishtar*, v 4, Venus *a-ḥi-iš manzaz-su ušallam-ma izzaz-ma*, completes her station to the border and stands still, i.e. Venus passed through her Hypsoma (Pisces) and halted to turn backward. Venus *manzaz-za ukínū*, 'established her station', i.e. stood in her Hypsoma and revealed true oracles. THOMSON, *Reports*, 206, 5. Venus in the month Ajar *manzaz-za uš-ta-na-ki*, 'attains her station', VIROLLEAUD, *Astrol. Suppl.* xlix, 35. This is probably the meaning of *manzazu* in THOMPSON, *Reports*, 176, 1, 'If the sun stands *ina manzazi ilu Sin*, in the Hypsoma of the moon, i.e. Taurus'. For the full term *manzazu kínū* = Hypsoma, see *ibid.* 27, R. 6; 37, R. 3; 87 A, 2+R. 3. Cf. CT. 34, 10, 19, Jupiter *manzaz-su us-sa-lim 15 úmē malúti izziz*, 'completed his station and stood 15 full(?) days'. Certainly 'station' in Babylonian does not have the meaning of *στηριγμός*, 'standing still', of Greek astronomy, i.e. the point of the apparent turning backward or forward of a planet. For this idea Babylonian employs the noun *táru* or the verb *tíru*. See JASTROW, *Religion*, ii 656 n. 6 after KUGLER. The Hypsoma of Venus is proved to be Pisces by VIR. *Ishtar*, ii 73 f., where she stood *ina manzazi-ša = ina mul Dilgan*. See WEIDNER, H. B. 159.

The word *manzazu* when applied to the moon usually has the meaning

2. The stars *their* likenesses he fixed, even the Lumaši.¹

of station in the sense of one of the stellar sectors assigned to each day of the moon's course; so the astronomers speak of his 'first station', VIROLLEAUD, *Astrol.*, *Sin.* iii 66. These stations of the moon are called *Houses* in Sumerian astronomy as early as the twenty-fifth century. So, for example, we find sacrifices to the *é ud-* 15, 'House of the fifteenth day', CT. 32, 26 II 15; LEGRAND, *Ur*, 111, 3, and for the *é ud-sar*, 'House of the new moon', l. 10. In some texts of the Sumerian period the moon's stations are called *gišgigir*, or the 'Wagon'. So we find sacrifices to the Wagon of the sixth and eighth days, PSBA. 1918, Pl. IV.

In the creation of the world Marduk now proceeds to the construction of the constellations, and the positions of the Hypsomata are regarded as of first importance, which proves the great influence of astrology in the period of the composition of the Epic. From the Greek the entire seven stations here referred to may be restored: Libra station of Saturn, Cancer of Jupiter, Capricorn of Mars, Aries of Shamash, Taurus of Sin, Pisces of Venus, Virgo of Mercury. For a full discussion of the Hypsomata, Houses, and Stations of Greek astrology see BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'Astrologie grecque* (1899), 180 ff., 192 ff.

A Babylonian representation of the Moon in his 'station' in Taurus and of Jupiter in his 'station' in Cancer to the west of Leo may be seen in JEREMIAS, *Handbuch*, 247.

¹ *lu-ma-ši* or *udu-ma-ši*, loan-word *lu(udu)-mašu* (CT. 26, 41 V 17), designates the constellations Perseus (Šugi), Cygnus (Udkadua), Orion (Sibzanna), Canis Major (Kaksidi), Centaurus (Entena-mašlum), Aquila (Našru), Sagittarius (Pabilsag), and are spoken of as the 'seven *lumaši*', CT. 26, 45, 7-10. But in KUGLER, *Babyl. Mondrechnung*, p. 72, the *lu-maš-meš* designate the signs of the zodiac through which the sun proceeds (*zi = tebû*) on his course, or they mark the path of the moon (*ina kabal lu-maš gabbi*), *ibid.* 146. The word, therefore, was extended to mean 'constellations' in general, each of which was identified with a deity, and that is apparently the sense of the loan-word *lumaši* in the passage above. BOLL, *Antike Beobachtungen*, Abh. der Kgl. Bay. Akademie, vol. 30, p. 149, believes that the seven *lumaši* were selected on the principle of the resemblance of their colour to that of Jupiter (planet of Marduk). BEZOLD in BOLL's *Antike Beobachtungen*, 154, says that the sign after *šu* is not *NU* but *MUL*, and he reads *tam-šil-šu mul lu-ma-ši*, i.e. the seven *lumaši* are *his* likenesses, or the likenesses of Jupiter = Marduk, which interpretation supports BOLL's theory of the connexion between Jupiter and these constellations. Unfortunately the traces do not support the reading *MUL*. (New collation by Mr. GADD.)

3. u-ad-di šatta mi-iš-ra-ta u-ma-as-šir¹

4. 12 arhē kakkabāni 3-ta-ám⁴ uš-zí-iz

¹ K. 8526, *u-ay-sir.*

² Root *wadū*, not *judū*.

³ *mišru*, Pl. *mi-iš-rat* (MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. 17, 15), and *mišrēli*, boundary, is probably derived from *eyēru*, to confine, Arabic *hasara*. The word *miṣrata* in this passage is a *hapax*, whose singular may be *miṣru*, *miṣrtu*, design, sign of the zodiac, and certainly identical in meaning with *uṣurtu*, sign of the zodiac, Sum. ^{gīš}HAR-RA. 11, 145, 24; *kakkabuṣurtu*, constellation, VIROLLEAUD, *Astrologie*, Sin. iii 137; THOMPSON, *Reports*, 114, 8. For the unusual plural in *āta* for *āti* cf. *mināta*, KAR. 175, 10.

⁴ For *tam*, distributive, see *Sum. Gr.* § 177. This passage is universally regarded by Assyriologists as referring to the so-called astrolabes of the Babylonians, which divide the heavens into twelve sectors, each of which corresponds to a month of thirty days and an arc of thirty degrees of the sun's course. For each month the astrolabes assign three stars which were at first interpreted as based upon their order of heliacal risings, being so chosen that they rose heliacally at regular intervals of ten days, the whole system beginning with a star in Cetus (Dilgan) which rose about the first of Nisan and governed the first ten days of the first month. This was the view elaborately worked out by KUGLER in his *Sternkunde*, i 230 ff., where he assigned the astrolabes to a late period, and determined the heliacal risings of the thirty-six stars or the so-called decans of Greek astronomy, and identified many of them with their classical equivalents. But in his *Ergänzungen*, 201–6, KUGLER withdrew his astronomical interpretations of the decans and substituted a purely astrological theory, making no reference to the puzzling figures which follow each of the three stars for each month in geometrical progression. KUGLER here interprets the well-known names of constellations as designations of planets. The astrolabes are well described by WEIDNER in his *Handbuch der Babylonischen Astronomie*, 62 ff., where he contributes a new astrolabe in the Berlin Museum, now published by SCHROEDER in KAV. no. 218. This text assigns the first star of each month to the Ea stars, or in other texts the 'Way of Ea', the second star of each month to the Anu stars or 'Way of Anu', and the third star of each month to the Enlil stars or 'Way of Enlil'. WEIDNER violently rearranges the three stars of each month so as to correspond to the three lists of twelve stars each which correspond respectively to the twelve stars of Amurru, the twelve of Elam, and the twelve of Akkad. He assumes that the stars of the first decan of each month or the outer ring of the astrolabes (see CT. 33, 11–12) should correspond to the twelve stars

3. He fixed² the year and designed the signs (of the zodiac).³

4. For the twelve months he placed three stars each.

assigned by the astrologers to Amurru, the stars of the second decan of each month should be the twelve stars of Elam, or the 'Way of Anu', and the stars of the third decan of each month should be the twelve stars of Akkad or the 'Way of Enil'.

It is obvious from the names of the constellations which are assigned to each section of the months that the signs are not chosen from the zodiac exclusively as in the Egyptian and Greek system of decans, but include signs of the so-called παρανεάλλοντα or stars outside the zodiac which rise heliacally at the times of the months to which they are assigned, or if we accept the thesis of LINDL, *Orientalische Studien Fritz Hommel . . . gewidmet*, ii 346 ff., the three constellations of each month belong to three concentric spheres. All rise heliacally in that particular month, and are arranged in order of distance from the earth. WEIDNER also assumes the principle of three concentric spheres, and explains the figures after each decan as distances in right ascension along the celestial equator, and with his drastic rearrangement he is able to prove that the thirty-six stars of the astrolabes rise heliacally in order each approximately ten days after the other, so that the three stars of each month are real 'time regulators' (*χρονοκράτωρ*). A passage in Diodorus often cited by writers on the subject (see WEIDNER, *Handbuch*, 63; BOLL, *Sphaera*, 335) states that the Babylonians assigned thirty (read thirty-six) stars to govern the course of the planets, and that every ten days one of those visible descends as messenger to those invisible (sets heliacally) and one of those invisible ascends as messenger to those visible (rises heliacally), which appears to be convincing proof that the Babylonians did devise a system of decans on the principle of heliacal risings; the constellations of the astrolabes as now identified, and whose risings are controlled by the great star chart published by KING 1-8 (see KUGLER, *Ergänzungen*, 21 ff.), do not always conform to this principle, and consequently KUGLER has attempted to interpret the Babylonian system of three decans to each month along lines very similar to the astrological system of the Greeks as found in Firmicus. See BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *opus cit.* 228. Here a planet is said to rule a decan or three planets rule an entire sign of the zodiac. For example, when the sun is in the first third of Aries the governing planet is Mars, when in the second third of Aries the sun himself is the ruling power, and for the last third of Aries, Venus rules. But line 4 of *Creat. v* can hardly be interpreted in this sense, and there is no evidence in the extensive astrological literature that the Babylonians knew of a planetary decanal system. The Egyptians arbitrarily assigned

thirty-six deities to these divisions of the track of the sun, and the names will be found in BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, 232-6. In fragments preserved by later writers from a lost work of Teucer, the Babylonian, are given the stars outside the ecliptic ($\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\tau\alpha$) assigned to each decan of each sign of the zodiac; see BOLL, *Sphaera*, 16-21. DR. FOTHERINGHAM of Oxford agrees with LINDL in his interpretation of the figures on the astrolabes, but for other reasons. His conclusion which I communicate in his words is, 'The stars of the decans indicate the position of the sun at each point in the zodiac'. From statements of LINDL and FOTHERINGHAM it follows that the three stars of each month succeed each other in heliacal rising, and are real time indicators. There is no trace of such a scientific system of decans in Greek astrology. It must, however, be admitted that the texts of the astrolabes require drastic revision to be made to conform to this scheme. For KUGLER's former interpretation of our passage, which agrees with the view taken here, see *Sternkunde*, ii 13.

DR. FOTHERINGHAM communicates the following note: 'In my view the figures (after each star on the astrolabes) indicate the distance of the sun from the south poles of the three concentric spheres *after* he has completed each sign of the zodiac. I believe LINDL and I agree in postulating three concentric spheres, but not in our interpretation of the figures. I do not mean to assert that the stars of the decans ($\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\pi-\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\tau\alpha$) are more accurately selected than in Greek astrology. My theory is perfectly consistent with KUGLER's former interpretation; if the names given in the texts will not fit into their proper decans it tells as strongly against KUGLER as against me.'

¹ Cf. *i-tu úmi ſa . . . uzú*, UNGNAD, VAB. vi 131, 24, 'After I had gone up'. *úmi ſa ſatti* is usually rendered 'days of the year' by previous editors.

² For *usurtu* employed in the technical sense of sign of the zodiac, constellation, see note on *mīrata*, l. 3, and WEIDNER, *Handbuch*, 149. Cf. *ussiru usurāti rabbāti*, in a somewhat different sense, LANGDON, *Paradis*, 54, 24-5; 52, 18.

³ K. 13774 (KING, *Creat.* i 191) *ru a-na.*

⁴ *ilu Nibiru, mut Nibiru.* Nibiru has a double signification in astronomical texts. In the first place it is the name of the planet Jupiter when it crosses the meridian by night. This is clear from THOMPSON, *Reports*, 94 Obv. 7-R. 1, 'The star of Marduk at his heliacal rising is called

5. After he had defined the days of the year by signs,²
6. He established the place of Nibiru⁴ to fix all of them,

iluŠulpae, when he is one-and-a-half (or *one* or *two*, text broken) hours (30 degrees = 1 *bíru*) high (45 degrees, or 30° or 60°) he is called *iluSagmegar*, and when he stands in the midst of the heavens (*ina kabal šamé*) he is *iluNibiru*.⁵ See KUGLER, *Sternkunde*, i 215 f.; WEIDNER, H.B. x 26; JASTROW, *Religion*, ii 489. CT. 33, 2, 37, *kakkabu rabú uddasu da'amat šami-e umaššil-ma (?) izzazu kakkabu iluMarduk Ni-bi-ri*: ‘The great star whose light is brown-red, which divides the heavens and stands is the star of Marduk-Nibiru’. This note at the end of the group of Enlil stars clearly refers to Jupiter, for it is followed by *mulSagmegar manzazu unakkir šamé ibbir*, ‘Jupiter changes his position and crosses the heavens.’ Again at the end of a list of Anu stars on the Berlin astrolabe SCHROEDER, KAV. p. 122, 29–32, *kakkab da'amu ša ina tibi šúti arki iláni mûšiti ugdamirunimma šamé umaššilu-ma izzazu kakkabu šú iluNibiru iluMarduk*, ‘The brown-red star which to the southward after the gods of the night are completed divides the heavens and stands still—that is the star Nibiru-Marduk.’ WEIDNER, *Handbuch*, p. 41, contends that the *Nibiru*-point indicates the summer solstice. The ‘Way of Anu’ corresponds roughly to the ecliptic. Hence all the planets belong to the Anu way, and despite the fact that KUGLER has not explained the figures on the astrolabes which seem to indicate concentric spheres rather than three parallel bands of stars, Enlil Way = Northern band, Ea Way = Southern band, Anu Way = Equatorial band, I am convinced that he is right (*Sternkunde, Ergänzungen*, p. 207), and that WEIDNER and LINDL’s theories of concentric spheres are erroneous. In the London astrolabe *kakkabMarduk* governs the last decan of Adar, but on the Berlin astrolabe the second decan of Adar, where it is assigned to the Anu Way. The London astrolabe assigns it then to the Ea Way, and in the corresponding stars of Amurru, Elam, and Akkad, *kakkabNi-bi-rum* is the last star of Akkad. It is equally clear that the star Marduk-Nibiru is here a constellation which rose immediately before or at the spring equinox, and is identified by WEIDNER with Perseus, *Handbuch*, 73, but his reckoning is for 4000 B.C., which is improbable. At any rate Nibiru also indicates a *fixed star* at or near the intersection of the equator and the ecliptic near Pisces and Aries. *iluNibiru* is also said to be the name of Jupiter in the seventh month *Tesrit* (Sm. 777 = WEIDNER, *Handbuch*, 24), hence also a constellation which rose at the autumn equinox near Libra and Scorpio. Or does this term simply imply that at the vernal and autumn equinox Jupiter

7. a-na la e-piš an-ni la e-gu-u¹ ma-na-ma
8. man-za-az *ilu*Enlil u *ilu*Ea ú-kin it-ti-šu
9. ip-te-ma abullê ina ši-li ki-lal-la-an
10. ši-ga-ru⁴ ud-dan-ni-na šu-me-la u im-na

is called the 'Nibiru', the 'star of the crossing', as any planet might be then called whatever its actual position?

It seems on the whole clear that *Nibiru* (the crossing) refers to the intersection of the celestial equator and the ecliptic, and that the name was applied to Jupiter as representative of the planets which cross from the southern to the northern part of the Way of Anu and vice versa twice in the periods of their orbits (disregarding the accidents of a planet's apparent backward and forward movement or planetary 'knot' at the equator). Hence 'Jupiter Nibiru' simply means a planet which crosses the equator, 'the celestial plan of the movements of the planets in the ecliptic', and in Book VII the scribe explains the name, 'Nibiru the holder of its middle'. 'Of the stars of heaven may he uphold their ways', ll. 110 f. The planet Jupiter is designated by *mul*Marduk = *ne-bé-rú*, II R. 51, 61, a writing which suggests that *neberu* may not be Semitic, and cf. *ni-bi-ri*, name of a weapon, RA. 16, 152, 18. In K. 3507 Obv. *mul*Ne-bi-ru is mentioned in a list of fixed stars, Orion, Ursa Major, the Kidney Star, Boar Star, Dilgan, Musirkešda, and also Šulpae, usually a name of Jupiter, and they are also called 'gods of the night'. The astronomical lists assign some of these 'gods of the night' to the Enlil Way, some to the Anu Way, and some to the Ea Way. Since in this list two names of Jupiter appear as designations of fixed stars it may be supposed that *Nibiru* originally meant a constellation in or near Libra, and Šulpae, after Nibiru had been associated with Jupiter, came to designate some constellation at the opposite intersection of the celestial equator and the ecliptic, i.e. a constellation in or near Aries. My conclusion is that *Nibiru* is Semitic, and means 'place of crossing', originally the place of the crossing of the equator by the sun and planets, and then applied to Marduk, 'god of the crossing', as the chief planet, and also to two constellations in these two celestial regions. That I take to be the meaning of the passage under discussion. See Book VII 108.

¹ K. 8526, ú. *egū*, probably not *egū*, babble, meditate, sin, but *egū* (ঘু), be weary, loiter. The line refers to the fixed points of the ecliptic or path of the sun, which to the ancients seemed to pass around the earth once a year with invariably the same relative inclination to the equator.

7. In order that none transgress or loiter.
8. He appointed the place(s) of Enlil and Ea² with him, (i.e. beside the Anu way).
9. He opened gates on both sides.³
10. He made strong the lock-rails left and right.

² This refers surely to the northern band of stars parallel to the central band of equatorial stars or the Way of Enlil, and to the corresponding southern band or Way of Ea. Since in lines 6-7 the *manzaz ilu Nibiru* means in a large sense the band of stars which fix the course of the planets which cross the equator, this interpretation of line 8 follows. The Var. K. 13774 has *ilu A-nim* for *ilu Ea*, an error which proves clearly enough that the scribe had these three bands of stars in mind. WEIDNER, *Handbuch*, p. 33 f., explained the *manzaz ilu Enlil* as the north pole of the ecliptic, and the *manzaz ilu Ea* as the point of the winter solstice. JENSEN, *Kosmologie*, 16 ff., held similar views, but he withdrew his argument in KB. vi 347 in favour of the view taken here. LINDL's argument in his article *Zur babylonischen Astronomie*, pp. 351 f., in which he sees here the 'Kenntnis von regelmässigem Vorwärtswandern des Nibirupunktes', i.e. the Precession of the equinox, is not convincing. For Enlil associated with the north and Ea with the south, see the names of the gates of the northern and southern sides of Sargon's palace, KB. ii 50, 68 + 70 (DHORME, *Choix*, p. 59).

³ For *si-li kilallān*, the two ends, or eastern and western sides, opposed to *pa-nu u ar-ka* or *inā rēši u arkāti*, in front (north) and behind (south), see CT. 26, 27, 71, and DELITZSCH, H.W. 566. The line refers to the mythological gates at sunrise and sunset through which the sun entered and departed. Early seals frequently represent the sun-god opening the gate of sunrise which consists of two doors swinging upon posts. He holds in his hand a key adapted for insertion into a lock with falling bolts, and the scene is technically described by F. VON LUSCHAN in *Primitive Türen und Türverschlüsse*, Orientalische Studien Fritz Hommel . . . gewidmet, ii 357-69, with illustrations of what he conceives to have been this old Babylonian gate and lock.

⁴ Sumerian *sigar* = *šigaru*, is probably the long narrow block fastened on each door of a gate. In the mortise of the left block was placed the lock (*namzaku*), which consisted of a pin or pins (*saggul* or *gag* = *sikurru*, *sikkatu*) which fell into holes in a sliding bolt (*šudeš*, *šagil* = *mēdilu*) to the level of the top of a long slot in the bolt. Into this slot was inserted the key (*gag ni-tuğ* = *mušēlū*, the lifter) with prongs to the same number as the pins, and working like a lever. The key when pushed downward lifts the prongs under the pins and raises them to free

the bolt or bar. This bar passes across the central part of the two doors sliding into a lock rail or block on the right door. For illustrations of this kind of door fastening and lock see the Egyptian lock in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* under 'Lock' and F. VON LUSCHAN in *Orient. Studien* F. Hommel . . . gewidmet, ii 362. By synecdoche šigaru is extended to mean door and door fastening. So in KING, *Magic*, 52, 22, *lišbat iṣušigar namzaki-šunu*, '[May the god Neduh] take his place at the door of their lock'. šigaru is certainly not 'key' as MEISSNER translates, ATV. i 39; cf. SBP. 206, 20, where the sun-god enters by drawing back the šigaru, i.e. here door (= *daltu*, of which šigaru is a part), and the šigaru may have bas-reliefs of monsters, Gudea, Cyl. A, 26, 24. 'Left and right' may possibly refer to the east and west if the orientation be taken from the south, or west and east if the orientation be north.

¹ Literally 'liver', but also 'belly'; see HOLMA, *Körperteile*, 79.

² *elati* is certainly a technical term connected with AN-PA = *elat šamē*, and means something more definite than the 'upper regions' (DHORME). ZIMMERN and KING render 'zenith', which is impossible. JENSEN, KB. vi 348 f., shows that *elat šamē* always means the western horizon where the new moon appears, and the new moon is referred to in the next line. Note that *elat šamē* in KB. ii 10, 4 = *Tamtim řa ūlmi šamši*, i. e. the west, and Tiranna (milky-way?) stretches from AN-ŪR (= *išid šamē*, eastern horizon) to the AN-PA, western horizon. Note also that SI-BAD-NA = *elat šamē*, where Nannar or the new moon stands, SBH. no. 83 R. 38, that is in Sumerian 'horn of the wall of heaven(?)'. UNGNAD in *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, 20 n. 11, without hesitation renders 'north pole', and that seems to be LINDL's view, l.c. 355. The Sumerian AN-PA can hardly admit of more than two interpretations, *kippat šamē*, 'wing or quarter of heaven', AN-ĞAD = *hatti šamē*, 'sceptre of heaven', or *namāra řa šamē*, 'shining forth in the heavens'. This

11. In her belly he placed the 'heights',
12. (And) caused the new moon to shine forth,
entrusting (to him) the night.
13. He fixed him as a being of the night to determine
the 'days'.
14. Monthly without ceasing he magnified him with
a crown :
15. 'At the beginning of the month, (the time) of the
shining forth⁸ over the land

designation for the west where the new moon is first seen, 'wing (?) of heaven, heights of heaven', depends upon some obscure conception which has not been discovered. JENSEN, *ibid.* p. 577, was inclined to associate *elat šame* with *šupuk šame*, both terms for western horizon (?).

³ Cf. HARPER, *Letters*, 44, 14, *ina eli abilē annīti ik-ti-pu-ni-ka*, 'Over this matter they entrusted thee'. On K. 13774 before *uštep̄* the text has *MUL (?)-šu = kakkab-šu (?)*, so KING and DHORME, i.e. Of Nannaru his star, &c. With this reading *ilu*Nannar is not identified literally with the new moon, but the meaning is 'The star of the god Nannar'. But there are no examples of the moon being designated as a star.

⁴ K. 8526, *mi. ume* is clearly a plural, and 'days' can hardly mean 'time' as ZIMMERN and JENSEN translate. UNGNAD, i.c., translates 'days', but adds 'days = dates'. I do not know of a passage which supports this view. *ume* can mean 'time' in an abstract sense, see UNGNAD, *Briefe*, 257, but hardly in the plural. Shamash determines the days, but the moon's period is the principal time unit in Babylonia. K. 13774 reads *suk-nat*. See l. 16.

⁵ K. 13774, *AGA*. *agā*, crown, designates the ashen light of the moon during its first quarter. See the exhaustive data in WEIDNER, BA. viii, pt. 4, 24-8, and KUGLER, *Sternkunde*, i 274; ii 101-3.

⁶ *ušir* is probably II¹ of *šeru*. Cf. *gu-mu-ni-mağ = lu-u-ši-ir*, he magnified, KING, LIH. i 203, 77.

⁷ Here begins K. 11461 in KING, *Creat.* i 192.

⁸ JENSEN suggests that *nāpāhu* (technical term for the daily rising of the sun and moon, or heliacal rising of a fixed star) is an infinitive employed as an imperative. DHORME construes *nāpāhi* as Inf. of purpose. The word is construed as in apposition to *rēš* in my text and by EBELING and WEIDNER, BA. viii⁴ p. 28. UNGNAD agrees with JENSEN, but see note on *nabāta*, l. 16.

16. kar-ni na-ba-a-ta ana ud-du-ú 6 ū-mi¹
 17. i-na ūm 7-kam a-ga-a [ma-aš-]la²
 18. [ša]-pat-tu⁵ lu-u šu-tam-hu-rat meš-li⁶ [ar-hi-]
 ſam
 19. [e-]nu-ma ū-Šamaš ina i-sid ſami-e⁷ [ik-ſu-du]-ka
 20. -ti ſu-tak-ſi-ba-am-ma bi-ni ar-ka-[nu]-
 uš⁸

¹ K. 8526, -mu. This line also fixes the meaning of l. 13, 'to determine the days (of the phases of the moon)'. Here the shape of the moon is described in the first quarter with horns and a pale disk for the remaining part of the moon or the ashen light.

² *nabāta* is naturally permansive of *nabū*, blaze, shine, see TH.-DANGIN, R.A. 10, 224.

³ This restoration is certain from K. 2164, 11, ūmu 7-kam [aga ma-] aš-la, and the commentary, l. 12, *EŠ = mišil*, *Babyloniaca*, vi 8; WEIDNER, *ibid.* and BA. 8⁴ p. 28, reads *bi-i-la*, extinguish, but the 'crown', or dark part of the moon is only half extinguished on the seventh day. JENSEN's reading ūum-ši-la, divide, makes good sense, but K. 2164 has [ma-]aš-la clearly. See also CT. 25, 50, 2, *maš-lum agū 7-kam*, The half crown is the seventh day.

⁴ K. 13774 has a version for lines 17-18 of the phases of the moon during the first fifteen days. The major texts are all based upon a week of seven days, but K. 13774 has a version based upon the five-day week. An Assyrian and Cappadocian week of five days was established by SAYCE, and see more evidence for a possible secondary Sumerian week of this kind in LANDSBERGER, *Kalender*, 96.

K. 13774, which is restored by III R. 55, no. 3, and CT. 26, 41, 16 ff. in WEIDNER'S *Handbuch*, p. 18, has the following version:

[ištū ūmi 1-kam adi ūmi] 5-kam 5 ū-mi [aškaru ilu Anu]
 [ištū ūmi 6-kam adi ūmi 10-]kam 5 ū-[mi ka-li-tum ilu Ea]
 [ištū ūmi 11-kam adi ū-mi 15 kam 5 ū-mi agū taš-ri-ih-ti ip-pir
 du Enlil]

'From the 1st day to the 5th, five days, (it is called) the sickle. It belongs to Anu.'

'From the 6th day to the 10th, five days, (it is called) the kidney. It belongs to Ea.'

'From the 11th day to the 15th, five days, (with) a crown of brilliance he is clad. It belongs to Enlil.'

Here each of the first three weeks is assigned to one of the three supreme gods of the Trinity as regent.

16. Thou shalt shine² with horns to determine six days,
17. And on the seventh day with a half crown.⁴
18. At the full moon verily thou art in opposition (to the sun), monthly,
19. When the Sun on the foundation of heaven has overtaken thee,
20. The *keep* and shine thou (in thy course) backward.

⁵ Cf. *ar̄ham sibūtam u ša-pa-at-tam*, First day of the month, seventh day and the full moon, TH.-DANGIN, *Lettres et Contrats*, 50, 28-9, in UNGNAD, *Briefe*, 246, corrected by LANDSBERGER, *Kultkalender*, 98. *ina arhi sibāti u ša-pa-at-ti*, CT. vi 5 b 20; cf. LANDSBERGER, *ibid.*; *ša-pat-tu*, CRAIG, RT. ii 11, 25 = *ām 15-kam* on Var. K. 8447 in BA. x¹, p. 81, Rev. 5. *šabattu*, *šapattu* is the technical name of the day of the full moon, the fifteenth of the month, PSBA. 1904. Pl. Opp. p. 56, l. 13. Like *sibūtu*, 'seventhness', *šabattu* is an abstract noun from *šabātu*, be complete, literally 'completion', i. e. 'full moon'. It is explained as *ām nūh libbi*, 'day of the making peaceful the heart', CT. 18, 23, 17, i. e. by prayer and sacrifice, and hence *zur*, to sacrifice, worship, is explained by *šapattu*, MEISSNER, SAI. 6829, and note *teg* = *šapattu*, SAI. 5677, and *teg* = *nāhu*, *passim*. Hence not 'day of rest', but day whose ceremonies bring peace to the worshipper. On the entire question of *šapattu* and the Hebrew *Šabbāth* see LANDSBERGER, *ibid.* 131-5. At the beginning of the line JENSEN, KING, DHORME, UNGNAD, and all earlier interpreters read *āmu* 14-*tu*, but ZIMMERN's reading *ša-pat-tu* is certain.

⁶ K. 11641, *mi-šil*(?).

⁷ The east or sunrise, see note on *elāti*, l. 11. JENSEN's restoration *ikšudu* is certain. The sun seems to revolve around the earth once in 24 hours and the moon once in 24 hours 50 minutes, and hence it may be said that, when the sun rises and the full moon has not yet set in the west in the early morning, the sun in the east has overtaken the moon. This may occur the morning before opposition or the first or second morning after opposition, depending upon the position of the moon in its orbit. The phrase *enuma sin šamaš ikšudamma itti-šu ittintu* means 'When the sun overtakes the moon and with him marches', THOMPSON, *Reports*, 124, 1; 127, 1; VIROLLEAUD, *Sin*, iii 51, refers always to this period of the moon's phases. On *nīlā*, march, v. *Babylonian Wisdom*, 47, 40.

⁸ K. 11641, *ar-ka-niš*. For *bi-ni arkanuš* cf. THOMPSON, *Rep.* 272, Rev. 4-5; *enuma mulSag-me-gar ikšud-am-ma mulLugal ittēlik-ma ib-ni-šu arka-nu mulLugal ša mulSag-me-gar ittetiku-šu-ma ib-nu-šu ikaššadamma mulSag-me-gar ittetik-ma ana ribi-šu illak*, 'When Jupiter

has overtaken and passed beyond Regulus and has illuminated him again (Regulus which Jupiter passed and illuminated overtakes Jupiter and passes him) and he Jupiter goes into obscurity'. Here a 'knot' of Jupiter's orbit occurs at Regulus, and the retrograde movement is expressed by *ibni arkanu*. After the moon's opposition on the western horizon in the morning this satellite each succeeding morning stands higher in the west at sunrise with increasing shadow; finally at the end of the month it disappears totally in the sun's rays for two to three days beneath the eastern horizon. It has during the waning period 'shone backward' or decreased from west to east.

¹ K. 11641, *rim*; see also K. 2164, 24.

² The astronomical commentary on the motions of the moon, K. 2164 in *Babylonica*, vi 8-28, after defining the moon's position on the twenty-seventh day has [*ud-ná-a*] *ana ḥarran ilu Šamši šu-taḥ-rim-ma šu-tam-hir*, '[At the period of darkness] approach the way of the sun and stand in opposition', i. e. the Babylonians spoke of two oppositions of the moon, the first (in l. 18) at the full moon directly opposite the sun, and the second when the moon stood between the earth and the sun at the end

21. At the period of darkness² approach to the way of the sun,

22. [And on the 29th day] verily thou standest in opposition to the sun a second time.

23. omen, enter upon her way.

24. approach and render judgement,

25. [To honour or] to disgrace.

26. thou me.

5

(128)

(129) he them

(130) his

(131) he them

(132) the lord

(133) -ed the gods, saying

(134) the stars he

(135) our son has

(136) us he has

(137) he left us in life.

of the period of invisibility (28th-29th days of the month), just before the sun overtakes it on the western horizon before sunset (new moon). WEIDNER restored [úm 28-]kam, but the traces favour lum, and LANDSBERGER *Kalender*, 142, suggested the reading adopted here.

³ So ZIMMERN from the traces on K. 11641; the form ū-a-nu-tam is required or ū-anūtešu or ū-a-ni-a-nu.

⁴ LANDSBERGER suggests that iṛṣitu stood here as antecedent of ū at the end.

⁵ The fragment K. 3449a (CT. 13, 23) was first assigned to the *Fifth Tablet* by GEORGE SMITH, and his view has been adopted by all later editors without much hesitation. Approximate position is certain. But it is now found to belong to the *Sixth Tablet* by the discovery of nearly the entire text of that portion of the epic. See the text VI 53 ff. For the remainder of Tablet V we possess only the fragmentary lines on the reverse of K. 11641, which belong toward the end of this book. The missing portion of Tab. V undoubtedly contained more astronomical poetry, and the entire book is a Babylonian prototype of the *Astronomica* of Manilius.

- (138) *i-šim-me me . . uš*
 (139) *la um nu*
 (140) *ilāni ni-i-nu*
 [il^u]Marduk zik-ri] ilāni ina še-mi²-su

COLOPHON ON K. 3567.

*dūp-pi 5-kam-mc e-nu-ma e-liš
 mat il^uAšur-bani-apli šar kiššati šar mat il^uAšur-(ki).*

SIXTH TABLET³

1. [il^u]Mar]duk zik-ri ilāni ina še-mi-šu
 1^b. [ub]-bal lib-ba-šu i-ban-na-a nik-la-a-te
2. [ep]-šu pi-i-šu a-na il^uÉ-a i-[zak-kar-ma]
 2^b. [ša] ina libbi-šu uš-ta-mu-ú i-nam-din mil-ku
3. da-mi lu-uk-ṣur-ma iš-ṣi-im-tum lu-šab-ṣi-ma
 4. lu-uš-ziz-ma *lilâ*⁴ lu a-me-lu šum⁷-šu

¹ Here begin a few lines from the end of K. 8526 and K. 3567.

² Catchline from K. 8526. Var. 11641, -me.

³ The principal text for this tablet is KAR. 164 (VAT. 9676). Lines 1-20 were previously known from BM. 92629 (KING, *Creat*, ii, Pl. 35-7).

⁴ Not 'my blood' as first rendered by KING after Berossus. See also my *Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, 34. Berossus has been misinterpreted by all of us. He does not mean to say that Marduk commanded one of the gods to cut off his (Marduk's) head but his own head, and to mix the outpouring blood with the earth so as to fashion men and animals capable of breathing the air. The passage in Berossus is so constructed and compressed that it is incomprehensible. From the restored text of Tab. VI it now appears that Marduk commanded the bound Kingu to be brought before Ea; he was slain and from his blood Ea created man. See commentary on line 26.

⁵ *ess̄imtu* is a difficult form. The singular of this word is *eṣ̄imtu*. TH.-DANGIN, *Lettres et Contrats*, 9, 7; CT. 12, 13 a 10. The Semitic

(138) hearing¹

(139)

(140) we the gods.

COLOPHON ON K. 3567.

Fifth tablet of *Enuma eliš*.

Land of Ašurbanipal king of universal dominion, king of Assyria.

SIXTH TABLET³

1. When Marduk heard the words of the gods,
1^b. his heart prompted him as he devised clever things.
2. He opened his mouth speaking unto Ea,
2^b. that which he conceived in his heart, giving him counsel.
3. ‘Blood⁴ will I construct, bone⁵ will I cause to be.
4. Verily I will cause *Lilū* (man) to stand forth, verily his name is man.

word is a *katlu* form, in Hebrew (*ešem*), Arabic ('āz̄mūn), Ethiopic ('āž̄em, 'ād̄em); Babylonian *ešimtu*, Cstr. *ešmit*, Pl. *ešmāti* (HARPER, *Lett.* 348, 11, *ešmētu*, CT. 23, 16, 13); *ešem-ṣiri*, ‘backbone’, UNGNAD, *Briefe*, 269, is based upon the form *ḳitlu*, *ḳitillu*, DELITZSCH, *Assyr. Gram.* p. 167, 4. *eššimtu* is apparently a *kittil* form, cf. *milliku*, and apparently an intensive of *ḳitil*, and a modified form of *ḳatil* due to the influence of the guttural 'ayin. Hence the base of the Babylonian *ešimtu* would be 'ašim, the usual Semitic form for parts of the body. See BROCKELMANN, *Vergleichende Gram.* p. 336; *ḳittil*, the Hebrew form for bodily defects, is really as BARTH maintained, an intensive *ḳatil*, see BROCKELMANN, *ibid.* p. 360 d). Hence Assyrian has two base forms for this word, *kitlu* (*ešmu*) and *katil*>*ḳittil* (*eššimtu*).

⁶ The word for ‘man’, *homo*, is *lili*, loan-word *lilā*, see Tab. I 142. Text *LÙ-GĀL-LU-a*.

⁷ KING's copy of 92629 has here the Neo-Bab. form of *TAK*, *ŠUM KAR*. 164, *MU*.

¹ KAR. 164, *u*(?) and *li*.

² The idea that man was primarily created for the service of the gods finds frequent expression in religious texts. See the Aššur version of man's creation from the blood of two minor gods, *Poème du Paradis*, 47, 27 ff. and especially p. 59.

KAR. 164, *kut, kil.*

⁴ *lušanni*, a 'helping verb', to return to the task, to go on with a task. Cf. *išnū aršī'u*, 'the wise undertook (to repair) again', NIES, *Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts*, 31, 7. *aš-ni-ma alput*, VAB. iv 238, 45. KING, DHORME, and LUCKENBILL (AJSL. 38, 21) render 'change the ways of the gods', which is also possible and makes good sense, but the syntax is against this view. EBELING renders the line in the sense adopted here.

⁵ KAR. 164, *tū, ana.*

This rendering is based upon II R. 47, 22, *ana šini-šu izzazu*, and CT. 27, 26, 7, *ana šinā zi-iz*, see UNGNAD, ZA. 31, 253-5, but the

5. I will create Lilû, man.
6. Verily let the cult services of the gods be imposed, and let them be pacified.²
7. I will moreover⁴ skilfully contrive the ways of the gods.
8. All together let them be honoured and may they be divided into two parts.'⁶
9. Ea replied to him, speaking to him a word;
10. For the pacification of the gods he imparted to him a plan:
11. 'Let one of their brothers be given.
- 11^b. He shall perish and men be fashioned.
12. Let the great gods assemble,
- 12^b. Let this one be given and as for them may they be sure of it.'
13. Marduk assembled the great gods,
- 13^b. Kindly he ordered them giving instruction.
14. He opened his mouth charging the gods,
- 14^b. The king speaking a word to the Anunnaki.¹⁴
15. 'Verily the former thing which we foretold to you is become true,¹⁵

meaning is obscure. The line refers to a division of the gods of the lower world and the upper world into two groups; see l. 29.

⁷ 92629, *i-pu-ul-lu-šu-ma*.

⁸ 92629, *-ūh-tum*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *šu-ut*.

¹⁰ *ša*.

¹¹ Var. 92629, *AN-AN*.

¹² *annu* usually refers to something just mentioned. EBELING, having in mind the punishment of Kingu which follows, takes *anni* for *annu*, punishment; see line 25 and note on *an-nam*.

¹³ 92629, *ú-a-a-ra*.

¹⁴ The 'great gods' in l. 12 mean the Annunaki and Igigi, and that is the usual meaning of *ilāni rabūti*, and these spirits here include the highest gods of the pantheon.

¹⁵ Marduk here refers to his oath made before the assembly of the gods that he would bind Tiamat if he received the power to determine fates from them. LUCKFNBILL reads *ú-nim-bu* = *unabbū*, but *nabū*, II¹, is used only for 'to wail', but it avoids the difficulty of the 1st Pl. for 'I'.

16. ki-na-a-ti a-ta-ma-a i-nim-ma-a it-ti-ja
 17. [ma]-nu-um-ma ša ib-nu-ú tu-ku-un-tu
 18. ^{ilat}Ti-amat ² u-ša-bal-ki-tū-ma ³ ik-ṣur-ru ta-ḥa-zu
 19. li-in-na-ad-nam-ma ša ib-nu-ú tu-ku-un-tu
 20. ár-nu-uš-šu lu-u-ša-aš-ša-a pa-ša-hiš tuš-ba ⁴
 21. i-pu-lu-šu-ma ^{ilu}Igigi ⁵ ilāni rabûti
 22. a-na ^dLugal-dīm-me-ir-an-ki-a ma-lik ilāni be-la-
 šu-un
 23. ^{ilu}Kin-gu-ma šá ib-nu-ú tu-ku-un-tu
 24. Ti-amat uš-bal-ki-tu-ma ik-ṣu-ru ta-ḥa-zu
 25. ik-mu-šu mah-riš ^{ilu}É-a ú-[še-bi-ku]-šu ⁷
 25^b. an-nam ⁸ i-me-du-šu-ma da-me-šu ip-tar'-u ⁹
 26. ina da-me-šu ib-[na] ¹⁰ a-me-lu-tu
 26^b. i-na [dul]-li ilāni-ma ilāni um-taš-šir

¹ Cf. *inimmē kablati-ka*, 'Thy serious oaths', PSBA. 1916, 136, 32. *inimmē* is a loan-word having a collective sense of 'words taken under oath', hence construed *ad sensum* in Fem. Pl. For *tamū itti-ia* cf. Heb. *bi nisba'ti*. Gen. 22, 16, &c. Here begins K. 12000 b (CT. 13, 24).

² Text restored by K. 12000 b. For *ilat* T. see Tab. I 107. The spacing demands this reading.

³ K. 12000 b, *us-[bal-ki-tu]*.

⁴ So read with EBELING, *tušba* = *tišba*.

³ For the derivation of Igigi = *ia-giš-giš* = 5 X 120, or the 'six hundred', see *Babyloniacar*, iv 236 n. 2.

⁶ Title of Marduk, 'King of the gods of heaven and earth'. See VAB. iv 72, 50; 90, 34; 126, 58; TH.-DANGIN, *Rit.* 137, 301; EBELING, KAR. 142, 5; DEIMEL, *Pantheon*, 1908.

⁷ Cf. III 6. EBELING restored *ū-[bi-lu]*; LUCKENBILL *ū-[ru]-šu*; cf. *ur-ra-šu ašriš di-i-[ni]*, IV R. 54, 30.

⁸ In line 12^b the word *an-ni* may perhaps be taken for 'my sentence of punishment', but the phrase *annam nadānu* cannot be otherwise illustrated.

⁹ Abbreviated expression for *ušlat dāmi parā'u*; cf. IV 131. The Hebrew **מִרְאָה** 'be red', and its cognates (see HOLMA, *Körperteile*, 7) is a triliteral form derived from *dāmu*, and the derivative '*ādām*', man, may

16. Swearing true oaths¹ by myself.
17. Who was it that made war?
18. That caused Tiamat to revolt and joined battle?
19. Let him that made war be given.
20. I will cause him to bear his transgression, but dwell ye in peace.'
21. The Igigi the great gods replied,
22. Unto Lugal-dimmer-anki,⁶ counsellor of the gods their lord.
23. 'It was Kingu that made war;
24. That caused Tiamat to revolt and joined battle.'
25. They bound him and brought him before Ea,
- 25^b. Punishment they imposed upon him, they severed (the arteries) of his blood.
26. With his blood he (Ea) made mankind,
- 26^b. In the cult service of the gods, and he set the gods free.

be connected with this legend of the creation of man from the blood of a god.

¹⁰ This restoration seems certain from the regular phrase employed in some legends of the creation of man. EBELING restores *ib-lul*, and *lul* clearly suits the traces on the tablet, and the legend preserved by Berossus says that man was made by mixing clay with blood, see *Poème du Paradis*, 34. In the Nippur version the mother-goddess Aruru (Mami, Nintud) created man, see *ibid.* 20 ff., from clay only or gave birth to him directly, but a Semitic legend (*ibid.* 37) states that Mami made man from clay and blood at the order of Ea (Enki), who commanded that a god be slain and that Ninharsag *ina ʃiri-ṣu u dāmi-ṣu liballil tiffam* (*ibid.* p. 38). This passage supports the reading *ibbul*. On the other hand, Marduk in this same Epic VII 29 is said to have created man *ibnū amelutu*, whereas in reality he only instructed Ea to do it, and a late bilingual incantation also attributes the creation of mankind to Marduk (*amelūti ibtani*) assisted by Aruru. There were in fact two Sumerian traditions, one from Nippur in which the earth-goddess created man from clay, and one from Eridu in which Ea created man in the same manner. The legend of the slaying of a god and mixing his blood with clay is probably later and worked into both versions. Marduk had originally no connexion with the tale. This

27. ul-tu a-me-lu-tu [ib-]nu-u¹ *ilu* É-a-ma

27^b. dul-lu ilāni i-mi-du a-ša-a-šu²

28. šip-ru šu-u la na-tu-ú ha-sa-šiš

28^b. ina nik-la-a-ti šá *ilu* Marduk [*u ni-me-ki*] *ilu* Nu-dim-mud

29. *ilu* Marduk šar ilāni u-za'-iz

29^b. *ilu* A-nun-na-ki [*u ilu* Igigi] e-liš u šapliš

30. ú-ad-di a-na *ilu* A-nim te-⁶ na-ša-ru

30^b. ma-şar-tu

31. uš-teš-ni-ma al-ka-kat irşitim ú-[nak-kil]

31^b. [*ilāni ša*] šami-e u irşि-tim

32. ul-tu te-ri-e-tim *ilāni* ú-ma'-i-ru [*ilu* Marduk] šarru -ma

33. *ilu* A-nun-na-ki ša šami-e

34. *ilu* A-nun-na-ki [ša irşि-tim]-šu-nu i-pu-šu

35. a-na *ilu* Marduk be-la-šu-nu šu-nu iz-zak-[ka-ru]

36. i *ilu* Nannaru be-li ša ušsura-ni⁷ taš-ku-nu-ma

Aššur copy of Tab. VI does not substitute Aššur for Marduk, but is a copy from Babylonia. The version of the creation of man in Assyria has no connexion with the *Epic of Creation*; see *Poème du Paradis*, 40-57. Here all the great gods assist in making man from the blood of two 'artisan gods' (sons of Ea!). In any case the legend of a god who was sacrificed to create man is extremely old. LUCKENBILL reads *ib-na*, and cf. *ina da-me-šu-nu i ni-ib-na-a a-me-lu-ta*, *Poème du Paradis*, 46, 26.

¹ EBELING, *ib-ba-nu-u ilu Ea uš-zib*; LUCKENBILL, *a-me-lu i-ib-ba-nu-u ilu Ea ir-te-şib*. ZİB is clearly for the caesura. See EBELING p. 56 note.

² For *ana ša-šu*.

³ The passage recalls Tab. I 94. Literally 'not suited to the understanding'.

⁴ Nudimmud, title of Ea as creator of man, *Ea ša nabnîti*, CT. 25, 48, 4, and *Na-dim-mud* = *Ea ša (ban) kalama*, l. 5. The name means *NA* (*nu*) = *amelu*, *DIM* = *bunnânu*, *MUD* = *banû*, i.e. *ban-bunnâni-ameli*, 'Creator of the form of man'.

27. After Ea had created mankind and (?)
27^b. had imposed the cult service of the gods upon him,
28. That work was past understanding,³
28^b. Through skill of Marduk and the *wisdom* of Nudimmud.⁴
29. Marduk king of the gods divided
29^b. the Anunnaki and the Igigi⁵ above and beneath.
30. To Anu he decreed the watching of the
30^b. a watch.
31. Moreover the ways of the lower world he *contrived skilfully*.
31^b. *The gods of heaven and earth he*
32. After Marduk the *king* had issued the laws of the gods, and
33. The Anunnaki of heaven he and
34. Of the Anunnaki of earth *their* had made
35. Unto Marduk their lord they said :
36. 'O Nannar⁶ my lord, thou who hast brought about our deliverance,

³ The gods were divided into the Igigi, who included all deities of the upper world, and the Anunnaki or deities of the lower world. Most extraordinary uncertainty prevailed about the numbers of these two groups. The sign *NER* = 600, Br. 10146 is employed for the *Igigi*, IV R. 60 a 32, but for the *Anunnaki*, IV R. 33 n. 14 and CRAIG, RT. 30, 26. Igigi means '600', and in SBP. 164, 36 the name is replaced by ^d*A-nun-na an-na*, 'The Anunnake of heaven', where they are 300 and the Anunnaki of earth are 600, l. 37. The gods of the lower world are said to be 50 in Bab. vi 107, 4, and cf. SBP. 164, 33. The two groups are often spoken of as 'gods of heaven and gods of earth'.

⁶ EBELING, *te-rit-su*.

⁷ Text *šu-bar-ra-ni*. Perhaps a loan-word *šubarrū?* Cf. *tāg-lal šu-bar-ra-da* = *kasā uššuru*, to free the bound, IV R. 17 a 36. See the Sumerian hymn to Šulpae = Marduk, ZIMMERN, KL. 78 Obv. 24, *galu šu-bar-bar-ra me-en*, thou art a deliverer, and l. 26, *šu-bar-ra*. See also PBS. x 256, 16.

⁸ Nannaru, the ordinary title of Sin of Ur, is here employed in the

sense of Nusku, god of the new moon and fire-god. Marduk is repeatedly referred to in this Epic as the fire-god; see I 160 and note. Cf. the title of Marduk, *na-an-na-ru ba-nu-u a-pa-a-ti*, CRAIG, RT. 52, 42.

¹ EBELING's reading appears to be sound. The gods are now fulfilling the promise made at the beginning of Book IV. See also RA. 14, 166, 23, *nīmedu* = *parakku*.

² The reference is to assembly of the gods at Babylon on New Year's Day, whither they came in their sacred boats to convene in the Ubšukkina of Marduk's temple.

³ *ibru* from *ebēru*, surround, fortify. See note on IV 141 and *ālu-e-ib-ru*, a fortified city, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkōi*, I p. 24, 33; 25, 41. To this root belong certainly *abaru*, enclosure, and *aburriš*, securely, in security. LUCKENBILL reads *ip-ra*, covered (?).

* *idruki*, also *t*, *t* possible in this root, is dissimilated from *idruku*, see BROCKELMANN, *Vergl. Gram.* p. 253f. *allu* certainly not 'basket' or 'yoke'.

37. What shall be our sign of gratitude before thee?
38. Come let us make a shrine whose name is called
39. "A chamber it is verily of our night rest": come let us repose therein.
40. Come we will found a shrine as an abode for thee.
41. On the day when we shall arrive² we will repose therein.'
42. When Marduk heard this,
43. His countenance beamed profusely as the sun.
44. 'So shall Babylon be whose undertaking ye have desired.
45. Let a city be built, a well-protected³ shrine be erected.'
46. The Anunnaki seized the pickaxe;
- 46^b. For one year they were making its bricks.
47. When the second year arrived
- 47^b. they raised the top of Esagila the imitation of the nether sea.
48. They built the lofty stage-tower on the nether-sea.⁷
- 48^b. For Marduk, who is Enlil and Ea,⁸ they established his temple as his abode.

as the lexicons and even recent writers admit. The word is not only associated with *darāku*, DELITZSCH, H. W. 228; STRECK, *Assurb.* ii 186 n. 1, but with *sabātu* and *našū*; *sabit al-lu naš išumarri zābil tupšikku*, 'Holders of the pick (?), bearers of the spade, carriers of the trencher basket', VAB. iv 240, 53, and *ušašši išual-lu*, 68, 26. *allu* is certainly a loan-word from *g̃al*, see the remarks by GENOUILAC, OLZ. 1908, 469, and *Poème du Paradis*, 41, 30. The word *al-dū*, *g̃isal-dū* = *aldū*, VR. 24, 15 = ATU. ii 70, 8, is a general name for farm implements. See Code Ham. §§ 253, 254, and *nig-al-di* = *erištū*, irrigation, farming, and *al-dū*, to excavate, *Sum. Gr.* 202.

⁵ LUCKENBILL's reading is naturally correct.

⁶ Cf. STRECK, *Assurb.* 300, 10, *Esagila . . . gabri apsi*.

⁷ Cf. VAB. iv 106, 23.

⁸ For Marduk with title *Enlil* see VAB. iv 60, 2; CT. 24, 50, 47406 Obv. 6. Or read 'Enlil and Ea established &c.' (?)

49. ina tar-ba-a-ti¹ ma-ḥar-šu-nu ú-[šat-]ba-am-ma

49^b. šur-šiš Ē-[sag-i]la i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu ḫar-na-a-šu

50. ul-tu Ē-[sag]-ila i-pu-šu ši-pir-šu

50^b. *ilu* A-nun-na-ki šu-nu pa-rak-ki-šu-nu ib-taš-mu

51. a-na Ē-sag-i/a] *kup-pat*⁴ apsi kali-šu-nu paḥ-ru

51^b. i-na paramahhi⁵ ša ib-nu-u šu-bat-su

52. *ilāni* abē-šu ta-šu uš-te-šib

52^b. an-nam Ba-ab-ì-lí⁷ šu-bat na-ár-me-ku-un

53. nu-ga-a⁸ aš-ru-uš-šu ⁹ta-šu

53^b. ú-ši-bu-ma *ilāni* rabûti

54. zar-ba-bu¹¹ iš-ku-nu ina ki-ri-e-ti [uš-ša-bu]

54^b. ul-tu¹² ni-gu-tam iš-ku-nu ki-rib-šu

55. ina Ē-sag-ila šikara¹⁴ iš-tu-ú :

55^b. [*ip-pat-ṭar ma-*]kal-tu

56. kun-na te-ri-e-ti uṣ-ṣu-ra¹⁵ u-ṣu-ra-a-te

¹ LUCKENBILL's restoration *u-ṣat-ba-am-ma* demands rather *tabrāti*, and this I take to be the meaning, *tarbāti* being due to metathesis. EBELING reads *u-ṣi-ba-am-ma*, and regards Marduk as the subject.

² The 'horns' are employed only of ziggurats in the inscriptions of Asurbanipal, see STRECK, *Assurb.* 52 n. 4. One expects, therefore, *Ē-temen-an-ki*, but Esagila is probably employed in a comprehensive sense. In the tablet which gives the measurements of this temple and its tower only the name Esagila occurs, SCHEIL, *Esagil*, 10-14.

³ Here A. means the great gods for whom chapels were added in the temple.

⁴ Cf. CRAIG, RT. ii 13, 7, *ṣabit kippat kigalli*, 'who holds the bowl of hell', bowl being used to describe the shape of the lower world, and for *kuppatu*, bowl, see CT. 4, 30 A 7. Uncertain. LUCKENBILL, *ṣa pāṭ apsi*; EBELING, *ana (?) pāṭ apsi*. One expects *mīhrīt apsi*, see line 47^b.

⁵ Here *paramahhi* refers to the central chapel dedicated to Marduk,

49. In admiration before them they caused it to rise up,

49^b. Beholding the horns² of *Esagila* from the base upward.

50. After they had done the work of *Esagila*,

50^b. These Anunnaki³ built themselves chapels.

51. Unto *Esagila* 'the bowl of the nether sea' they assembled,

51^b. In the great chapel which they built as his abode.

52. The gods his fathers he caused to dwell in his⁶

52^b. 'This Babylon is the abode of your dwelling place.'

53. Make glad sound in its place and its
.....

53^b. And so the great gods sat down.¹⁰

54. A feast they made as they sat down to the festival.

54^b. After they had made music therein,¹³

55. and had drunk beer in *Esagila*,

55^b. *the table was cleared away*.

56. Laws were fixed and plans designed.

and in the inscriptions usually named *É-umu(?)-a = bit tēmi*; see VAB. iv 302 under *E-KU-a*, and KAR. 109, 16 for the reading.

⁶ LUCKENBILL, *sur-ta-šu*, 'his board'. I cannot find a reason for this rendering.

⁷ *NI-NI(?)*.

⁸ II¹ Imp. energeticus of *nagū*.

⁹ Apparently same sign in l. 52, *sur* (?).

¹⁰ Line one on K. 3449 a, Obv., CT. 13, 23.

¹¹ *zarbabu*, a dish, like *pāssuru*, platter, developed the meaning table, mensa, and cf. *pāssura rakūsu*, to prepare a table for a meal. Cf. ZA. 27, 239.

¹² K. 3449 a, *iš-tu*.

¹³ *nigūta šakānu* is a well-known phrase for celebrating a feast, see DELITZSCH, H. W. 447, and cf. JRAS. 1921, 187, 27.

¹⁴ *KĀŠ* often for *KAS* = *šikaru*. Text entirely conjectural.

¹⁵ So also EBELING, but the text seems to have more words. Read *ana da-ri-iš* after *usṣura*? cf. *Poème du Paradis*, 48, 28-9, and 52, 18.

57. man-za-az šami-e u irši-tim šak-[*nu-ma*] i-na ilāni
gim-ra-su-un
58. ilāni rabûti ha-am-šat-su-nu ú-ši-bu-ma
59. ilāni šimāti sibitti-šu-nu a-na [*kal nišē šimāti*]
uk-tin-nu
60. na-ši-ma *ilu*En-lil *išu*[*mišta-šu u ina*] pani-šu-nu
id-di
61. sa-par ša i-te-ip-pu-šu⁶ i-mu-ru ilāni abê-šu
62. i-mu-ru-ma *išu*kašta ki-i nu-uk-ku-lat bi-nu-su
63. ep-šit i-te-ip-pu-šu i-na-a-du abê-šu
64. iš-ši-ma⁷ *ilu*A-num ina puḥur ilāni i-ḳab-bi
65. *išu*kasta it-te-ši-ik⁸ ši-i
66. im-bi-ma ša *išu*kašti ki-a-am [*šumē-*]ša
67. i-ṣu⁹ a-riḳ il-ti-nu-um-ma⁹ ša-nu-[um-ma ša]
- 67^b. šal-šu šum-ša *kakkab* *BAN*¹⁰ ina šamē
68. ú-kin-ma giš¹¹-gal-la-ša

¹ Stations refers here to the places assigned to the two groups of gods described in line 29.

² Cf. SBP. 164, 33, and Bab. vi 107, 4. The gods of the lower world are meant, i. e. the Anunnaki.

³ These seven gods of fates follow the fifty Anunnaki in SBP. 164, 34, and clearly refer to the Igigi or to part of them. The Igigi include the great gods of the upper world, and are sometimes in a technical sense identified with the seven Pleiades. The gods of the seven planets, Shamash, Sin, Marduk, Ninurta, Nergal, Ishtar, and Nebo are probably meant here. For the fifty gods and the seven gods who cause Enlil to take his place in Kenur, chapel of Ninlil in Nippur, see also my edition of Ni. 9205, Obv. II 21-3 in R. A. vol. 19, p. 72.

⁴ i. e. Marduk.

⁵ K. 3449 a, *im-hur-ma*, 'he received'. Cf. IV 37 and note.

⁶ Cf. IV 41. K. 3449 a, *sa-pa-ra*.

⁷ *išši* for *issi*, from *šasū*, is another example of the Assyrian pronuncia-

57. The stations¹ of heaven and earth were arranged among the gods all of them.

58. The great gods who are fifty sat down.²

59. The gods of fates who are seven fixed the fates for all men.³

60. Enlil⁴ lifted⁵ his toothed sickle and laid it before them.

61. The⁶ net which he had made for himself the gods his fathers beheld.

62. They saw the bow, how skilfully was its construction made.

63. The deed which he did his fathers praised.

64. Anu lifted up his voice, speaking in the assembly of the gods;

65. He kissed the bow (saying), 'This is'

66. He named the titles of the bow thus;—

67. 'Long wood' is the first (name); the second (name) is

67^b. Its third name is the 'Bow Star in heaven'

68. He fixed its location (*in the heavens*)

tion of *š* as *s*. See also *liš-ši-ma* with Babylonian variant *li-is-si-e-ma*, VII 115.

⁸ K. 3449 a, *it-la-šik*.

⁹ K. 3449 a, *iš-šu* and *lu iš-te-nu-um-ma*. BM. 54228, 4, *iš-tin-nu-[um-ma]*, KING, ii 63.

¹⁰ Usually called *kakkab kak-BAN*, Br. 5294. Canis Major, KUGLER, *Sternkunde*, ii 86, but another *kakkab BAN* is identified with Spica by KUGLER, *ibid.* The Bow Star was usually identified with the war-goddess Ishtar, and even her planet Venus was called the Bow Star, VIROLLEAUD, *Ishtar*, xxix 15. Technically Sirius in Canis Major was known as *KAK-SI-DI*, and the Bow Star is ϵ , σ , δ , τ , of Canis Major + κ , λ Puppis, KUGLER, *Sternkunde, Ergänzungen*, 26, and for the Bow Star identified with Ishtar, see p. 62, 12 and p. 219; PSBA. 1909, Pl. IV 3. This seems to be the only passage in which the bow-shaped star is assigned to Marduk. See also *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 169 f.

¹¹ K. 3449 a, *gi-iš*.

69. ul-tu ši-ma-a-ti šá [. u-ši-mu]
 70. [id]-di-ma *isu*kussa-]šu
 71. [. -]nu- um ina
 72. ip-hu-ru-ma [ilāni rabûti
 73. *ilu*Marduk
 74. u KI-RU¹
 75.
 76.
 77.
 78.
 79. ú-ša-tir
 80. a-na zik-ri-šu-nu
 81. ip-šu pî-[šu *amatam izakkar*] li *din*²
 82. *lit-bi-ku* *tu*
 82^b. u an-ni
 83. lu-u šu-uš-ku-ma ma-ru[kar-ra-du]
 83^b. li-iš-
 84. e-nu-su⁴ lu-u šu-tu-rat *ni ru* za
 85. li-pu-uš-ma ri-é-ut şal-mat կակկադի⁵ bi na
 86. ah-ra-taš û-me la ma-še-e⁶ dà-lí-lí-šu
 87. li-kin⁷ ana abê-šu nin-[da-bi]-e (?) [ra-bu-te];⁸
 88. za-nin-us-su-un li-*pu-uš* su-
 89. li-še-ší-in kut-[rin-na] ša [*ta-a-*]bu [*na-*]piš-[su a-na-
 a-ší]⁹

¹ šamē u *ırṣi-tim*?² EBELING, *li-sik-[ku]*. Clearly more signs at the end.³ Anu.⁴ Cf. III 49, *enuti*, Var. of *iluAnuti*. EBELING and LUCKENBILL, 'his rule'.⁵ LUCKENBILL, *ri-e-ut-ni*, 'sovereignty over us'. EBELING's restoration is *şal-mat* [*SAG-*]DU, and at end *ta-bi-na-as-su lilliku*, 'may they come into his protection'. For *şal-mat SAG-DU* see VII 32. In defence

69. After he had fixed the fates of
 70. He founded *his* throne
 71.
 72. *The great gods* assembled
 73.
 74.
 75.
 76.
 77.
 78.
 79. He made to exceed
 80. For *his* (*their*) titles
 81. He³ opened his mouth saying a word; 'May

 82. Let them pour out
 82^b.
 83. Verily he has been exalted, he the heroic son and
 may he
 83^b.
 84. His Anuship verily is made surpassing
 85. May he shepherd the dark-headed peoples
 86. Forever that *his* *praise* be not forgotten
 87. May he establish for his fathers the great cult
 offerings.
 88. Their upkeep may he *perform*
 89. May he cause to be smelled incense whose odour
is pleasing unto us.

of *re'ut-ni*, Tab. VII 111 may be cited. See also CT. 25, 47, 9, Marduk
ša kima re'i (?) i šu-ru ilāni, 'Who like a *shepherd* has mustered the gods';
 and VAB. iv 60, 3. See note on l. 93, and PSBA. 1910, 164.

⁶ Cf. *la maše dà-lí-lí-ku-nu*, PSBA. 1912, 77, 40. Or restore *dū-*
bi = *kāli-ši-na ip-še-ta-šu*, 'that all his deeds be not forgotten', and
 cf. VII 18? Or VII 30 f.?

⁷ The text has an erasure (?) here.

⁸ Cf. BA. v 319, 13.

⁹ *napišu*, odour. See KAR. 158 R. 16 = JRAS. 1921, 177 and n. 4.

90. tam-šil ina šami-e i-te-ip-šu^[kakkab]Iku Bab-ilāni¹
91. li-ad-di-ma E-sag-[ila ina iršiti ana]-šu
92. la a-si-i -ta-su gur ? lil
93. ip-šu pi-šu ? -ta ? -riš² li-šik-ku²
94. nin-da-bi-e li-in-na-ša-a ilu-ši-na *ilat'* iš-tar-ši-na
95. aī im-ša-a ila-ši-na li-kil-la
96. ma-si-na liš-te-pa-a pa-rak-ki ši-na li-tep-ša
97. lu-meş-şa-ma⁴ şal-mat kakkađi i-la-ni
98. [a-na ni]-ja-ši ma-la šu-ma⁵ ni-im-bu-u šu-u lu-u
el-ni
99. [i] nim-bi-e-ma ha-ša-a⁶ šu-me-e-šu
100. si-ka-tuš⁷ lu-ú šu-pa-a ip-še-tuš lu-u maš-la
101. *ilu*Marduk ša ul-tu ši-ti-šu im-bu-ú-šu a-bu-šu
*ilu*A-num
102. ša-ki-in *me-hu-úh-ku-tu*¹⁰ mu-dah-hi-du ú-ri-šun¹¹

¹ Restored from THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels*, 136, 274, *mul Iku Esagila tamšil šamé u iršiti*. The star *DIL-GAN*(ikū) is identified with Cetus + Aries, and the name means Canal Star, see WEIDNER, *Handbuch*, 85, col. I 1, and KUGLER, *Sternkunde, Ergänzungen*, 217, star of Babylon. Everything on earth was supposed to be a replica of something in heaven, and the heavenly pattern of Esagila was the Canal Star.

² Read šu-tu-riš? lišikku? hšikku? lipikku? My translation rests upon a doubtful derivation, III¹ of *nakú*. The renderings of EBELING and LUCKENBILL are most doubtful. A root šáku, sáku, would explain the form better.

³ Lines 93-7 clearly refer to *níšé* or *ameláti*, and it is possible that *ni-[ši]* is the correct reading in l. 85, *re'ut ni-ši*(?).

⁴ mašú, be wide, is employed in exactly the opposite sense with *şalmat kakkađu* in SBP. 134, 44.

⁶ *mala* = as many as, is really a noun governing the genitive, and

90. As an imitation of what he has made in heaven,
[that is of the Canal Star (star) of Babylon,]

91. May he design Esagila [upon earth for his].

92. Not to depart

93. If he uttered command let them³ make offerings in abundance.

94. May cult offerings be brought to their god and goddess.

95. May they not forget their god but support (him).

96. Their land (?) may they adorn and their abodes may they make.

97. And may the gods make wide the dark-headed people.'

98. As for us by as many names as we have named him verily he is our god.

99. Let us name his fifty names.

100. His triumph verily is glorious and his deeds⁴ are comparable,

101. Marduk whom from his origin⁵ his father Anu had named,

102. 'The institutor of enricher of their storehouse,'

means 'fulness of'. See UNGNAD, *Briefe*, p. 218 note b on no. 249, and p. 334. The full construction here should be *mala šilme šuma*.

⁶ For *hamšā*; cf. VII 123. See line 117 below for restoration.

⁷ Probably for *šikkatu*, as EBELING renders the word. *šikkatu*, peak, eminence, and victory, DELITZSCH, H. W. 659, has clearly a *š*, as the derivative *šakikis*, SBP. 234, 6 testifies. In PSBA. 1908, 266 ff., I connected the root *šakiku*, pierce, harrow, with this word, and cf. STRECK, *Bab.* ii 52 and 234.

⁸ *ipšētu* probably refers to the creation of the world and the constellations.

⁹ The word refers to Marduk's being begotten by Ea in I 78 ff., but line I 102 preserves a tradition that Anu (father of the gods) was his father. Anu as father of Enlil and Ea is spoken of in this sense frequently, i. e. as father of any one of the gods.

¹⁰ Reading extremely uncertain.

¹¹ For *bit urū*, building attached to a temple for retaining sacrificial

103. ša ina kakki-šu a-bu-bu¹ ik-mu-ú ša-bu-ti²

104. ilāni abē-šu i-ṭi-ru ina šap-ša-ki

105. lu-u ma-ru-ti-šu ša ilāni ni-bu-ú-šu-ma

106. ina nu-ri-šu nam-ru lit-tal-la-ku šu-nu ka-jā-na

107. nišē ša ib-nu-ú ši-kit-ti nap-šit³

108. dul-li ilāni i-mid-ma šu-nu ip-pa-aš-ḥu

109. MUL (?) e-ni-nu

110. lu-u ut-nin-na mit-[ha-riš] nap-lu-su-šu-nu⁴ ša-
a-šu

111. *ilu* Ma-ru-duk⁵ lu-u ilu ba-[ni ilāni ka-]la-ma

112. mu-ṭib lib-bi *ilu* A-nun-na-ki mu-šap-[ših]]-a

113. *ilu* Ma-ru-du-uk-ku⁶ lu-u tu-kul-tu mat-su [unišē]-šu

114. ša-a-šu-ma lit-ta'-da i-šu⁹ nišē

115. ^{d.}Bara-šag-kuš-ù¹⁰ iz-zi-iz ù šir-ri-sa kas-[su it-
muḥ]

116. ra-pa-aš lib-ba-šu la-a-'i-ṭ¹² ka-ras- [su]

animals, see CLAY, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, no. 46, 2, and VAB. iv 94, 25 with note.

¹ For *abubu*, name of a weapon, see Tab. IV 49.

² Note the commentary K. 2107, 30, *ilu* Zi-si = nāsiḥ Ša-bu-ti, KING, *Creat.* ii, Pl. 62, and cf. Tab. VII 41. For si = ūubbū, cf. CT. 15, 11, 9, si-si-gi, with SBP. 48, 49, sīg-sīg-gi = ušibbanni.

³ For *napšat?* Or read *nab-nit?*

⁴ Sic! One expects -ši-na. ⁵ Cf. ZA. 10, 295, 21.

⁶ Sign *KU* perhaps with value *duk* here. So EBELING. LUCKENBILL reads *ma-ru-tuš*, and a decision between these two readings is difficult.

⁷ Cf. K. 107, 24.

⁸ This title of the older god *Asaru* or *Asar-lu-dug* is a late fabrication of the scribes to devise a title which would describe the new god of

103. Who with his weapon the 'Cyclone' bound the oppressors,

104. And saved the gods his fathers from distress.

105. 'Verily his sonship is of the gods' is his name.

106. In his bright light may they walk constantly.

107. Upon the peoples whom he created, the creation of the *breath of life*,

108. He imposed the service of the gods and these were pacified.

109. to implore,

110. Verily they shall implore him in unison⁵ to look upon them.

111. *Marduk verily is the divine creator of the gods altogether.*⁷

112. Who gladdens the heart of the Anunnaki and makes to repose the

113. Truly Marduk is the help of his land and of his people.

114. Him may they praise, the support of the people

115. He the god Barašagkušu stood up and *held her rein (?) in his hand.*¹¹

116. Wide is his heart, warming is his compassion.

Babylon in the rôle of Ninurta, the original hero of the combat with Tiamat. Ninurta was a sun-god and *amar-ud* means 'youth of the sun', whence *Marudukku, Marduk*.

⁹ Probably cognate of Hebrew *yăd*, *yădā*.

¹⁰ This title of Marduk has not been found in the theological vocabularies, and is not preserved in the text of Tab. VII. The name means *ša'il parakkē*, 'He who is solicitous for sanctuaries', cf. *Shurpu*, ii 122; *Gudea*, Cyl, A 29, 2.

¹¹ Reading conjectural; cf. BA. V 311, 8.

¹² Root *la-iṭ*, to blaze, burn. Note the N. Pr. *Nusku-la-iṭ-ilāni*, and *la-iṭu*, light, in *la-iṭ-ka ištahana*, 'Thy heat warms (the orphan and widow)', K. 2132, 6.

117. *ilu*Lugal-dim-me-ir-an-ki-a¹ ša šum-šu i nim-bu-u
pu-ħur-ni
118. zik-ri pi-i-šu nu-ša-aš-ku-u eli ilāni abē-šu
119. lu-u be-lum ilāni ša šami-e u irši-tim ka-li-šu-nu
120. šarru ša *ina* taķ-pi-ti-šu² ilāni lu-u -uš
šab(ρ)-šu
121. *ilu*na-ri-dim³-me-ir-an-ki-[a] šum-šu ša-ni iz-kur
a-sir ilāni ka-la-ma
122. ša *ina* šami-e u irši-tim it-ta-ad-du-u šu-bat-ni
ina pu-uš-ki
123. ana *ilu*Igigi u *ilu*A-nun-na-ki u-za-’i-zu man-za-zu
124. ana šu-me-šu ilāni liš-tar-i-bu li-nu-šu *ina* šub-ti⁵
125. *ilu*Asar-lù-dug⁶ šum-šu ša im-bu-u a-bu-šu *ilu*A-
num
126. šu-u lu-u nu-ru ša ilāni giš-tu-u⁷ dan-nu
127. ša ki-ma šēdi⁹ la-mas-si uballiṭu māti
128. *ina* ša-aš-me dan-ni e-ṭi-ru šu-bat-ni *ina* puški

¹ *be-el ilāni ša šamē u iršitim*, K. 2107, 19. Cf. VAB. iv 72, 50.
See l. 119.

² For *taķbitu*? Cf. *taķbāti* (Pl.), K. 1290 R. 15. LUCKENBILL reads *tak-pir-ti*. At the end *uš-šab-šu* III¹ of *bašū* is hardly possible.

³ The sign is *dīm*, *Sum. Gram.* p. 265, Var. of *dīm*, l. 117.

⁴ *Na-ri = ašāru*. See the same title of Marduk in WEISSBACH, *Miscel.* 37, 49, *na-ri d-Anunnaki-ge = ašir ilu Anunnaki*, and *ašir ilāni*, K. 2107, 14, ‘Convener of the gods’.

⁵ A reading *diš-ru-ti* is possible, Pl. of *ašru*, submissive, but the parallel passage in a text published by PINCHES, *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, vol. 29, p. 58, 23, disproves this. There we read *i-nu-uš ina šub-ti ip-laḥ amelu nakru*, ‘The enemy trembled in (his) habitation and feared’.

117. He is 'Lord of the gods of heaven and earth' whose name let us proclaim in our assembly.

118. We have exalted the commands of his mouth above those of the gods his fathers.

119. So he is lord of the gods of heaven and earth—all of them.

120. The king at whose *command* the gods

121. 'Nari-dimmer-anki'⁴ as a second name he called him, the musterer of all the gods.

122. Who in heaven and earth appointed our dwelling-place in time of distress.

123. Who allotted locations to the Igigi and Anunnaki.

124. At his titles may the gods tremble and may they quake in (their) dwelling-places.

125. Asarludug is his name which his father Anu called him.

126. He is the light of the gods,⁵ the mighty champion.

127. Who as consoling satyr and the protecting satyr gave life to the land,

128. And in mighty combat saved our dwelling-place in distress.

⁴ The reading of the last sign is doubtful; *šar* is possible. The meaning of this title of Marduk remains unknown. *Asar* or *asaru* is said to mean *šariš mérišti*, bestower of verdure; *lu* = *bélu*, and the last element (if *dug*) may mean *tabtu* or (if *šar*) *kisšāti*. The title is explained by *Marduk ū ūip̄ti*, 'Marduk of judgement', CT. 24, 42, 97, which is probably false.

⁵ Loan-word from (*gi-es-tu*) *IGI-DU* = *ašaridu*, Syl. B¹, Aššur text unpublished.

⁶ Marduk as god of light is certainly not the meaning of his oldest title *Asaru*. See l. 113.

⁷ The sign is miscopied for *gidim-ma*, and for the form cf. PBS. v 126, 7.

¹ Loan-word; cf. CT. 24, 27, 24.

² *kisēru*, to restore, usually with *abtāti* (ruins), VAB. iv 335. See TH.-DANGIN, RA. II, 95. See VII 28.

³ See note on VII 11.

⁴ *igru*, Sumerian *gab*, Syn. *bisū*, &c., MEISSNER, SAI. 7637, where read the sign 7784. *e-gir pa-ni*, plotters, IV R. 54, 30.

⁵ Represented by ditto mark as in CT. 24, 15, 133.

⁶ Apparent Semitic as explained in l. 134.

⁷ Here begins 92629 Rev. in KING, *Creat.* ii, Pl. 37.

⁸ ०२६२०. *ki-i-na-*

⁹ *Ibid.*, i-na.

¹⁰ Portions in the sense of spheres of influence in the pantheon. This is also the meaning in the title of Marduk, *mu-za'-iz iš-ki-e-tu*, TH.-DANGIN, *Rituels*, 129, 14. *išku* has invariably the form *iškēti* in the Pl.; cf. *mu-ad-du-u is-ki-e-ti*, VS. i 36 I 19; here the subject is ^a*A-MAL* (l. 17) or *Mar-bitū*(?). *ilu Mar-bitū* (*DUMU É*) was a god of Maliki near to or a part of Dér, HARPER, *Letters*, 1063 Rev. 6-7, and for *Mar-bitū* as

129. And secondly they named Asarludug 'god Namtilaku', the god

130. Who restored the destroyed gods to be even as his own creation.

131. The lord, who by his holy incantation made to live the dying gods.

132. Destroyer of plotters, hater of

133. And Asarludug 'god Namru' which was called his third name,

134. The bright god who brightens our way.

135. commanded Anšar, Lahmu and Lahamu,

136. Speaking unto the gods their sons ;

137. We have, we have proclaimed his names.

138. speak.

139. They rejoiced as they heard their speech.

140. In Ubšukkinaku he assigned them their portions.¹⁰

141. 'Of the heroic son our avenger,

142. We have extolled the name, even of the caretaker.'

god of Maliki see STRECK, *Assurb.* ii 187. But *iluA-MAL* is apparently a god of Dēr, VS. i 70 IV 27, and a certain *iluA-MAL-ibni* was a citizen of Dēr, HARPER, *Letters*, 430, 5. Since the late Babyl. texts do not distinguish *MAL* from *É*, it seems safe to render both ideograms by *Mar-Bīti*. It is surprising to find a minor deity of Bar-Sippa described as the god who assigned the powers of the gods of heaven and earth. Cf. KAR. 80, 14, Shamash, *mu-us-si-ku iškēti*, and 35, 18 + 36, 5, Ea, Shamash and Marduk *mušeškiš iškēti ša Šami-e u irstitim*, who allot the portions of heaven and earth. A Mar-bīti of Maliki and another at Barsippa are established so far as our present information warrants a conclusion. *iluA-MAL* or *Mar-bīti* in V R. 46, 25 f. is identified with Marduk, and it may well be that the late DUMU-*É* and *A-É* are falsely derived from the oldest god of Babylon, *A-mal*, with whom Marduk may have been identified.

¹⁰ 92629 has *za-ni-nu ul-lu-[u nu-ul-li šum-šu]*, 'We whom the caretaker has lifted up', etc. See VII 7 and IV 11.

143. ú-ši-bu-ma ina ukkín-na¹-šu-nu i-nam-bu-u ši-
ma-a-šu²
144. ina mi-e-si³ nag-ba⁴-šu-nu u-zak-ka-ru-ni šum-šu
145. *ilu* Asaru⁶ ša-rič mi⁷-riš-ti [ša iş-]ra-a-te⁸ u-kin-nu

COLOPHON.

[*dub-pu*] 6-kam e-nu-ma e-liš giš-tu-u

On BM. 92629 there remains only the name of the owner of the tablet, Nabu-balat-su-ilki.

SEVENTH TABLET

1. *ilu* ASARU ša-rič mi-riš-ti ša iş-ra-a-ti u-kin-nu⁹

2. ba-nu-ú še-am u ki-e mu-[še-su-u ur-ki]¹⁰

3. *ilu* ASARU-ALIM ša ina bit mil-ki kab-[tu ina mil-ki
at-ru]¹¹

¹ 92629 omits *na* and read *puhri*.

² A word *šimu*, fate, is unknown. The example cited by MUS-ARNOTT, *Lexicon*, p. 1053, rests upon a misreading. CRAIG, RT. 54, 20 has *ši-ma-tuš*. But no better interpretation is apparent. LUCKENBILL regards the word as *šimu*, price, worth.

³ Cf. KING, *Boundary Stones*, 117, 4.

⁴ So read. VAR. 92629, *na-gab*.

⁵ Tablet VII contains the names referred to here.

⁶ ASAR-RI (*asaru*), CT. 24, 15, 68. ⁷ 92629, *me*.

⁸ *i-ratu*, map, city Doomsday-book; see GAUTIER, *Dilbat*, no. 13, 8; cf. CT. ii 45, 9, *ina šašarim*, upon the cadaster (?).

⁹ Text from K. 2854 in KING, *Creat*. i 159, and catch-line of Tab. VI. This title is cited in a hymn to Marduk, TH.-D., *Rituels*, 138, 304. For a study of the commentaries on the Seventh Tablet see KING, *ibid.* vol. i 157-81; LANGDON, PSBA. 1910, 115-23; 159-67; UNGNAD, ZA. 31, 153-5. The commentaries seem to have dissected each old Sumerian title into fanciful elements, and to have explained in a cabalistic manner the Semitic lines of the Epic which also consist in free interpretations of the Sumerian titles. UNGNAD, *ibid.*, attempted to explain all of the

143. They sat in their assembly proclaiming his *fate*,
144. All of them mentioning in the sanctuary his name(s).⁵
145. Asaru bestower of husbandry, who has fixed the property boundaries.

COLOPHON.

Sixth [tablet] of *Enuma eliš*

SEVENTH TABLET

1. Asaru bestower of husbandry, who has fixed the boundaries of estates.
2. Creator of grain and plants, causing the grass to spring up.
3. Asaru-alim who in the house of counsel is powerful, in counsel excellent.

Sumerian elements in the commentary by fanciful dissection of the titles, but it is evident that many of the comments of the scribes are based upon the Semitic interpretations of the lines of the Epic. The commentary is cited here by C. with reference to the plates in KING, vol. ii. Thus, the comments on line 1 will be C. 51 I 1-5. See also KING, ii 63, 6. The god *Asaru* written simply REC. 387 was originally a deity of *Habur* at Eridu (LANGDON, *Archives of Drehem*, p. 25 n. 8), and he has, *ibid.*, the longer title *Asaru-lù-dug*; see also HUBER, *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, 220, 12+R. 9. He seems to have been translated to Babylon in the period of the First Babylonian dynasty. Cf. the exegesis *nûr il̄mi = d. Asaru*, CT. 29, 45, 26; SCHROEDER, KAV. 51 R. 17 = Šamaš!

¹⁰ C. 51 I 6-10, where *asaru* is separated into *ru = bauu*, *sar = še'u + kū* and also *sar (ma) = asû + urkû*. KING, ii 63, 8 has *še-im u gu-e* and a comment, *gu-um = si-hir-tu*.

¹¹ The title is explained by *ša balāti*, CT. 24, 42, 98, 'he of life', as god of healing. The explanation here is purely imaginative, based upon absurd analysis of *asaru*. C. 51 I 11-16.

4. ilāni ú-tak-ku-ú a-dir-[tam it-ta-ha-zu]¹
5. *ilu* ASARU-ALIM-NUN-NA ka-ru-bu nu-ur [a-bi a-li-di-
šu]²
6. muš-te-šir te-rit *ilu*A-nim *ilu*En-lil [u *ilu*E-a]
7. šu-ú-ma za-nin-šu-nu mu-ad-du-ú [šu-bat-sun]⁴
8. ša šu-ku-us-su⁵ ḥegallu⁶ uṣ-ṣa-[a⁶ ana kali-šu-nu]
9. *ilu*TU-TU⁷ ba-an te-diš-ti-šu-nu [šu-u-ma]⁸
10. li-lil sa-gi¹⁰ šu-nu-ma šu-nu lu-u [pa-aš-ḥu]

¹ C. 51 I 17-20. Here begins BM. 91139, KING, *Creat.* ii, Pl. 38.

² Restored by KING, *Creat.* i 216, 3. The title is followed by *maru reštā ſa apsi*, IV R. 3 b 26; NIES, *HRET.* 22, 25+184.

³ *karubu* is apparently a translation of *alim-nun-na*; *ka-ru-bu*, title of Ea, KAR. 59, 31, and *alim-nun-na* = Ea, CT. 24, 14, 31; *alim* = *kusarikku*, fish-ram, symbol of Ea, see Tab. I 142 and note. *karubu* has the same meaning as *kāribu*, 'one who prays', an image of a mythical monster placed at the gates of temples and palaces; *iluka-ri-bu ſa imitti bāb papaḥi*, KING, *Chronicles*, ii 84, 16, and see SCHEIL, *Dél. Perse*, iv 167, 6, the images at the gates of a temple in Susa, *lamazāti u kāribāti*. The word *kuribū* has the same sense; MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. 75, 24, *iluLahme iluku-ri-bi*, at the two sides of a gate. The derivation of all these forms from *karābu* is certain. Cf. Sum. *alam sub-sub-be*, a statue which prays (for the king and people), i. e. *kāribu*, PBS. x 152. The meaning 'interceding statue', more especially statue of the mythical fish-ram of Ea, then came to mean 'intercessor', protector, and in CT. 18. 27, 13 *karubu* = *rubū*. This 'intercessor', a figure of a mythical monster, is clearly identical with the Hebrew *kérub*, cherub, and possibly to be identified with the fish-ram, which also appears on the Zodiac of Dendera in Egypt for Capricorn. See HINKE, *A New Boundary Stone*, p. 102. The statements concerning this word in the lexicons is erroneous.

⁴ This restoration from VI 122 suits the context better than *iskēti*, VI 140.

⁵ *šukutu* has the meaning 'house', as well as 'treasures'. See the gloss on *TE-UNU* (*šukutta*) = *šubat*, BL. 32, 24.

⁶ 91139, *ḥegal-la ú-uṣ-ṣi*.

⁷ *tu-tu* (REC. 147, *tud*) appears first in the time of the *First*

4. The gods waited (for him) as they fell on sorrow.
5. Asaru-alim-nunna, intercessor,³ light of the father his begetter.
6. Who directs the ordinances of Anu, Enlil and Ea.
7. He is their caretaker, who determines their [abodes].
8. From whose store house goes forth abundance to all of them.
9. He is Tutu, maker of their restoration.⁹
10. Let him purify their sanctuaries and let them be at peace.

Babylonian Dynasty and generally without the determinative *dingir*. The early Sumerian title is *du-du*. In *Ham. Code*, iii 10 the king is *narām Tu-tu*, where this Sumerian word (= *muallidu*) is already a divine title, and here it designates Nabû of Barsippa. For *Tu-tu* and *d.Tu-tu* in *n. pra.* of this period see RANKE, *Personal Names*, 208; it then disappears in onomastica until the late period where it has been found in only three names, *Erba-d.T*; *Ina-kibî-d.T*; *Gahal-d.T*. The title has not been found at all in Assyrian names. In a commentary on incantations *d.Tu-tu ša mē ellūti idū* ('who knows the pure waters') he is identified with *Kug-sud*, a lustration god, and with *Urbadda*, one of the seven sons of Enmešarra, RA. 16, 150, 12. Here Marduk, god of incantation, is of course intended. The title *tu-tu* or *mu'allidu*, 'begetter', is clearly not of Sumerian origin, and never occurs in Sumerian religious texts. The title is admitted into the list of Marduk titles, CT. 24, 27, 30, and a commentary K. 2107, 21 has *d.Tu-tu = mu'allid ilāni muddiš ilāni*. This title carries complete evidence for the Semitic origin of the Seventh Tablet.

⁸ C. 56 I 1-4. See also KING, ii 63, 10 = i 176, 5, where a commentary cites this line, and Var. Rm. 395 (*ibid.* ii 62), l. 4, *ba-ni te-dišti-šu-nu*. 54228 has the note *a-lid (?)* [KING, MU] *ilāni ša mahazi-[šu-nu uddušu]*, and Rm. 2538, *ša ina Bāb-ilī* [*te-dištam eppušu*], and *ibid.* ii 63, 16, *d.TU+TU šāpik šadī*, and *d.TU+TU d.Marduk (ša) tam-tum i...*

⁹ This explanation, which refers to rebuilding temples, is a false interpretation of *Tu-tu*.

¹⁰ 91139, *sag*, C. 56, 5-9, where *dū = sagū*, see PSBA. 1910, 118. Here the Sumerian text obviously explains a Semitic line and has no connexion with the title *Tu-tu*.

11. lib-ni-ma šipti¹ ilāni li-[nu-ḥu]

12. ag-giš² lu²-te-bu-ú li-ni'-ú [i-rat-sun]

13. lu-ú šu-uš-ku-ú-ma ina puḥur³ ilāni

14. ma-am-man ina ilāni šu-a-šu⁴ la um-[daš-šal]

15. (*ilu*Tu-tu)⁵ *ilu*ZI-UKKIN-NA na-piš-ti um-ma-ni [ilāni]⁶

16. ša ú-kin-nu an⁸ ilāni šami-e el-lu-[ti]

17. al-kat-su-un iş-ba-tu-ma¹⁰ ú-ad-du-ú [rik-si-šu-un]

18. aī im-ma-ši i-na¹¹ a-pa-ti ip-še-ta-[šu kullati-ši-na]¹²

19. (*ilu*Tu-tu)¹³ *ilu*ZI-KUG šal-šiš¹⁴ im-bu-ú mu-kil te-lil-ti¹⁵

20. ili ša-a-ri ṭa-a-bi be-el taš-me-e u ma-ga-ri

21. mu-šab-ši ši-im-ri u¹⁷ ku-bu-ut-te-e mu-kin ḥegalli¹⁸

¹ EN: 91139, *šip-ti*. C. 56, 10-13. The line may refer to the rituals of incantation in which the curse of Marduk is uttered against the demons whereby the gods, enraged against man because of his sins, are appeased and the demons expelled. At any rate there is no reference in Book IV to Marduk's use of the 'curse' in his combat with Tiamat. A title of Marduk in K. 5233 does refer to this aspect of Marduk's character, Marduk ša *tu-u-šu* . . ., KING, i 180. ^dTu-tu is also explained as a god of incantation, *ibid.* I. 4, ^dMarduk ša ina *mú-kug-gi-šu*. . . . In VI 131 there is a clear reference to a legend that Marduk did employ a curse in his combat with Tiamat, as his father Ea had done in subduing Apsû. If VII 11 refer to this part of the ancient myth, omitted in Book IV, then the translation is 'Verily he created the curse and the gods reposed'.

² 91139, *gi-iš*, *lu-ú*.

³ *Ibid.*, *pu-ḥur*. C. 56, 19-23, for which see PSBA. 1910, 119.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *ša-a-šu*.

⁵ Omitted on K. 8522, 1 (CT. 13, 26), or represented by MIN.

⁶ K. 2107, 29 has *naphar* for *ummanu*. Here begins 35506 (= KING, ii 46).

⁷ This title appears only here and CT. 24, 27, 31.

11. Let him create the curse and verily the gods shall be calmed.

12. Lo, they came up in rage and lo, they turned back [their breasts].

13. Verily he was lifted up in the assembly of the gods.

14. Among the gods not any one makes himself like unto him.

15. (Tutu) Zi-ukkin,⁷ life of the host of the gods,

16. Who established the pure heavens for the gods,

17. And who controlled their paths fixing [their regulation].⁹

18. Let not his deeds, all of them, be forgotten among pale-faced men.

19. Tutu they named thirdly Zi-kug who maintains illustration,

20. The god of sweet breath,¹⁶ lord of grace and mercy.

21. He who causes to exist treasures and riches,¹⁹ establisher of plenty.

⁸ 35506, *a-na*.

⁹ See Tab. V 6. The line refers to Jupiter as Nibiru and his supposed control over the movements of the planets.

¹⁰ 35506, *tu-ā*.

¹¹ K. 8522, *ina*.

¹² C. 61 II 1-7 + 69, 3-9.

¹³ K. 8522 omits or has *MIN*.

¹⁴ i. e. the third name of *Tutu*.

¹⁵ C. 61 II 8-13, which reads the title *ilu Tu-tu-an-nu zi-kug-ge*, and for *mukil* this text had *mukin*.

¹⁶ Šáru tábū is a free translation of *Zi-kug* (*napištī elliti*), 'holy breath of life'. The breath of a god was supposed to bring assistance to men. So Ašurbanipal says *ša ana šár-ka tábī upakkū*, '(I am he) who waits for thy sweet breath', KLAUBER, PRT. 112 R. 4, and a prayer to Marduk has the line *lubluš ina šári-ka*, BA. v 312, 21. See also the prayer to *Tutu*, KING, Magic, 18 R. 3, *šár-ka tóbū lizilamma napištīm krik*, 'May thy sweet breath blow and lengthen (my) life'.

¹⁷ 91139 and 35506 omit.

¹⁸ 91139, *hegal-la*.

¹⁹ šimru from *šamāru*, heap up. See VAB. iv 360. Same root as Heb. טַמֵּר, טַמָּה. In Babylonian the root occurs as *šarāmu*, Bab. iv 110, 15.

¹ 91139 and 35506, *mi-im-ma-ni i-si.*

² 91139, a. ³ -ku, nu, 91139: 35506, -ka and om. dannu.

⁴ Vars. *sæ-ar.* ⁵ 35506, *id* (*sic!*). ⁶ 91139, *lu.*

⁷ 91139 and 35506, *ri-bi-i*. ⁸ 91139, *ha, ti*.

"God of the holy crown"; or *Ligir-kug*, "Holy prince" (?). The following titles make no explanation of the name, and it has not been found elsewhere.

¹⁰ 91139, *ti*; 35506, *si-ip-hi*.

11 Vars. *cl-li-ti.*

¹² Literally 'the dead', those in extremis.

¹³ 91139 omits.

¹⁴ Vars. *tu.* ¹⁵ 91139, *ri.* ¹⁶ See note on Tab. IV 114.

17 35506, *di*.

¹⁸ 91130, *kq*

19 Vars. *e-li-*

20 91139, 3d!

21 9

35596, *ii.*

22 This extre-

received many interpretations.

This extremely cryptic line has received many interpretations. The solution of the problem depends upon the meaning of *padū* and the antecedent of *šunu*. If -*šunu* refers to the bound gods in line 28 and not to *amelítu* the line cannot be interpreted as a Babylonian doctrine of the redemption of man by the mediation of Marduk. In VI 27 *amelítu* is regarded as a singular and referred to as *šāšu*, 'him', and *šalmat kakkadi* in VI 85 is referred to by the Fem. Pl. in VI 94, but in VI 110 *nīšē* is referred to by *šunu*. The bound gods or the 'destroyed gods' (VI 130) who became the deities and demons of the lower world (VI 114) can hardly be said to have been set free or ransomed by the creation of mankind, but from one point of view man was created to 'enrich the field of the Anunnaki', i.e. to inhabit the lower world after death; see *Poème du Paradis*, 51 n. 1. *padū*, as in Hebrew and Arabic, has primarily the meaning 'to purchase one from slavery', ransom, set free, although its most common meaning is 'spare, have mercy upon' in Babylonian. Note the derivative *pidū*, 'ransom

22. Who turned everything deficient into largeness.
23. Whose sweet breath we smelled in sore distress.
24. Let men speak and praise and sing his praise.
25. Tutu fourthly may the totality of mankind glorify as Aga-kug.⁹
26. Lord of the pure curse, who restores unto life the dying.¹²
27. He who had mercy upon the bound gods.¹⁶
28. The yoke imposed upon the gods his enemies he caused to be removed.
29. And who created mankind that he might purchase their ransom.²²

money', apparently certain in IV R. 54a 47, but doubtful in HARPER, *Lett.* 437 Obv. 12, *ana pi-di-šu-nu*, for their pardon (?); cf. *immer bi-di-ti*(?), UNGNAD, *Briefe*, 251, 5. The most positive argument for the meaning 'ransom' is the Sumerian *uš-kür = padū*, CT. 19, 42, 35, &c. This ideogram seems to mean *rēdām* or *nēbām ušākil*, 'He caused the pursuer or seizer (creditor) to eat (silver)', i. e. he paid the creditor and released the person seized for debt (*nipātu*). Cf. the Sumerian phrase *šam-kür*, 'eater of the price', for a seller, THUREAU-DANGIN, RTC. 13 II 14; 14 III 1; 15 III 3; NIES, *op. cit.* 217, &c. Perhaps here *a-kul pi-di*(?) = *lip-la-am*(?), ZA. x 196, 8. Hence *ed*, -*de* = *padū*. 'To cause to come forth', CT. 19, 42, 38, and MEISSNER, SAI. 5893.

If *padū* be taken in this sense and *šunu* for 'men', the line must be taken to mean that Marduk created man in order to ransom them from evil. That seems to be Jensen's view when he suggested 'um sie zu erlösen' as a translation. UNGNAD in Gressmann, *ibid.* 23, also takes *padū* in the sense 'ransom', but interprets the line to mean that Marduk created man as a ransom on behalf of the bound gods. But a ransom to whom? Or if in a weaker sense 'to set free', how can the creation of man set free the bound gods? Is it that they are spared to rule over the dead? That is a conceivably true explanation. DHORME, *ibid.* 73, says that these gods are set free by the intermediation of men, and supposes that this was told in Book VI, but the recovered text of Book VI states that man was made to serve the cults of the gods. KING seems to overlook the difference between the gods and the 'bound' gods, when he infers that man was created for their forgiveness (in order to serve them, the bound gods). In fact I cannot understand KING's translation; it does not grapple with the problem.

But if Marduk, the Demiurge, created man that he might ransom him,

the problem is still more difficult. Have we here a reference to a pre-gnostic and mystic doctrine of Marduk's death and resurrection? At any rate the Babylonians did possess a mystic ceremony which told of Marduk's imprisonment, death, descent into the lower world, and resurrection, and the Greeks reported a legend of Bel's grave in Babylon. This ceremony is only a recasting of the older Tammuz cult, in which the myth of the winter and spring sun and the *Epic of Creation* are the principal factors. There is nothing either in the ceremony itself or in later religious texts to prove that any doctrine of mystical redemption existed; certainly nothing which would suggest that Marduk paid a ransom for man. The ceremony will be found at the beginning of this volume.

I am unable to come to any definite conclusion about this line. It has been translated literally, but the most probable interpretation is that *tadi* means 'to set free', and that Marduk created man in order to exercise his power over evil by freeing them from the demons with his curse. This view is supported by the next line.

¹ 91139 and 35506, mi.

2 91139, *bu-ul*,

³ The natural inference is that Marduk gave instructions to man, and these are referred to here, but it seems evident now with the complete text of Book VI before us that no such instructions existed. Ziudsuddu, the survivor of the Flood, did receive instructions from a deity, *Poème du Paradis*, 213. Perhaps *amatu* refers to Marduk's commands to the gods to create man and his implied injunction that they should serve in the cults.

⁴ 91139, *kak-ka-di.*

⁵ This contradicts Book VI, which says that Ea created man, but it agrees with later Babylonian tradition, CT. 13, 35-8. Book VII

30. Merciful one in whose power it is to give life.
 31. May his words³ endure and not be forgotten,
 32. In the mouth of the dark-headed peoples, whom
 his hands created.⁵
 33. Tutu is fifthly MUKUG;⁹ upon his holy curse may
 they meditate.¹⁰
 34. Who with his holy incantation removed all the
 evil ones.
 35. He is ŠAGZU, knower of the thoughts of the gods,
 who perceived¹⁵ the plan.
 36. Who permitted not the evil-doers to escape from
 him.¹⁷

reveals many other traces of its late composition. See *Poème du Paradis*, 29-31.

⁶ 91139, *ha-a[m-ši]*; 35506, *i-na ha-an-šu*.

⁷ 35506, *el-lu*.

⁸ 91139, *pa-a-* and *li-it*.

⁹ This reading is proven by the bilingual commentary K. 5233, 4 (KING, i 180), ^d.*Tu-tu mū-kug-bi = ilū Marduk ša ina mukuggi-šu*.

¹⁰ See IV R. 54, 24, *lu-ub-la pī-šū*. UNGNAD probably having in mind *Ham. Code*, Epilogue 56, *attabal-šinati*, 'I ruled them', renders the line 'May Tutu guide(?) their mouth with his pure curse'; also possible. DHORME and EBELING read *littappal*, 'May their mouth proclaim', which is most improbable.

¹¹ 91139, *šip-ti*.

¹² Vars. *el-li-ti*.

¹³ 91139, *tu*. The line contains another reference to Marduk's use of a curse in his battle with Tiamat and her followers.

¹⁴ 35506, *ib-ru-[u]*. This variant gives the line a specific sense, and proves that it refers to Marduk's discovery of the plot of Tiamat and Kingu. See Book II 4, where the discovery is attributed to Ea, and cf. Ea's title *mādū libbi ilāni rabūti*, which refers to his discovery of Anu's plan to bestow eternal life upon Adapa, *Poème du Paradis*, 86, 10. This line is commented upon in K. 2107, 28, ^d.*Sag-zu = mūdē libbi ilāni*, Var. *Šag-su(d) = libbu rāku*, 'He of unsearchable heart'. See also Rm. 2538 (KING, i 176), where a second comment is *barū libbi [ilāni]*, and K. 5233, ^d.*Šag-zu d.Sug-ḡab = d.Marduk muballā aibi* (KING, i 180+K. 2107, 31).

¹⁵ Historical present. Var. *ibrū*.

¹⁶ For *itti* = *ištū*, see DELITZSCH, H. W. 154 and ASKT. 94, 42 = Sum. *da-ta*, 'Away from the side of'.

¹⁷ Cf. Book IV 108-9.

37. mu-kiⁿ pu-hri¹ ša ilāni [mu-ṭib] lib-bi-šu-un.

38. mu-kan-niš² la ma-gi-ri []³

39. mu-še-šir kit-ti na-[]⁴ su-u

40. ša sa-ar-ti u ki⁵

41. (Šag-zu) ^{ilu}ZI-SI mu-še-[ib-bi-i ša-bu-ti]

42. mu-uk-kiš šu-ḥar-ra-tu

43. (ilu) Šag-zu) ^{ilu}SUH-HAB šal-šiš na-siḥ [ai-bi]⁷

44. mu-sap-pi-iḥ kip-di-šu-nu

45. mu-[bal-]li [nap-]ḥar rag-gi⁹

46. liš

47. [(ilu) Šag-zu) ^{ilu}SUH-G]Ú-HAB [c-šu-u nap-ḥar rag-gi]

63. ^{ilu}GIL

64. rab-bu

65. ^{ilu}A-GIL-[MA na-si-iḥ] ša-ki-i a-ṣir šal-tum šar
a-gi-i]¹¹

66. ba-nu-u [irṣi-tim mušteširu elāti mu-kiⁿ šami-e]¹²

¹ 91139, *pu-úh-[ri]*. Commentary K. 8299 in KING, ii 60, Obv. 1-5; FSBA, 1910, 121. The break appears to leave room for ša u-ṭi-bu.

² 91139, *ni-iš*.

³ K. 8299 has two words for this break [. . .]-lu and [. . .]-ṭa (?) -šu.

⁴ The last word in this line ended . . . su-u, K. 8299, Obv. 12. The Commentary on l. 39 is *ZI* = *kit-tum*; *ZI* = *i-ša-rum*; *ZU* = . . . su-u; *ZU* = . . ., made up by S. 11 (Pl. 51) III 1-4 + K. 8299 Obv. 10-13 (Pl. 70).

⁵ Here begins K. 9267, CT. 13, 28. The Commentary on l. 40 is *ZU* = *sar-tum*; *ZI* = *kánu*; *ZU* = ?; *ZI* = ?, made up by S. 11 Obv. III 5-8 + K. 8299, 14 . . .

⁶ d. *Zi-si* = *nāsiḥ šibāti*, K. 2107, 30; cf. SCHROEDER, KAV. 59. 5.

⁷ Restored from K. 2107, 31.

⁸ For *kip-di* cf. KAR. 80 R. 13, *kip-di-šu-nu upaṭṭar-šu-nu-ti*, and *ibid.* Obv. 7. Cf. Book IV 68, *sapiḥ téma-šu*.

⁹ This phrase really explains a title omitted here, *d. Suḥ-gū-ḥab*, or

37. Confidence he restored to the assembly of the gods, and he gladdened their hearts.
38. The subduer of the disobedient
39. Administrator of justice
40. Who perversity and
41. Šagzu is ZISI, conqueror of oppressors.⁶
42. Who dispels misery
43. Sagzu is thirdly SUḤHAB who annihilates the enemies.
44. Confounder of their plots⁸
45. Who puts an end to the totality of evil ones
46.
47. Šagzu is (fourthly) SUḤGUḤAB, destroyer of the totality of the wicked.
63.
64.
65. ¹⁰*ilu*Agilma, [uprooter of the proud, organizer of victory, lord of the crown];
66. Creator [of the earth, director of the beings on high, fixer of the heavens].

⁶ HA-A-gú-hab, K. 2107, 32 ff. = SCHROEDER, KAV. 59, 7 ff. Cf. Rm. 395 R. 5.

¹⁰ The Obverse of each commentary Pl. 51+K. 8299; Pl. 56, and Pl. 59 originally carried *four columns* and commented upon about sixty-five lines. This was arranged to agree approximately with the lines on the Obverse of Tablet VII, as arranged on K. 13761 (KING, i 164). Now on Pl. 54 of vol. ii KING gives the last traces on the Obv.; he gives [] *Gil* as the last sign and beginning of a new section. This corresponds clearly to ^{d.}*Gil* . . . , four lines from end of Obv. on K. 13761, and K. 4406 (the Rev. of Sm. 11) Pl. 54 continues the commentary. DR. KING erroneously placed K. 12830 in the break here (vol. i 100), and EBELING copied the mistake after it had been rectified in PSBA. 1910, 116, over ten years ago. The Commentary on l. 62 has . . . *pu-u*; . . . *ka-nu* and . . . *u*, Pl. 54 note.

¹¹ Restored from C. 54 I 1-7; PSBA. 1910, 122.

¹² C. 54 I 8-13; PSBA. 1910, 159.

67. *ilu*ZU-LUM¹ mu-ad-di [kir-ba-a-ti²] 68. na-din iš-ki u *nin-da-[bi-e (?) ša ilāni abē-šu]*⁴
69. *ilu*MU-UM-MU ba-an [*ka-la ilu Mu-um-mu na-din ti'-u-ti*]³
70. ilu mu-lil šami-e
71. ša ana du-un-ni
72. *ilu*GIŠ-NUMUN-ÁB-BA
73. a-bit ilāni [*lim-nu-ti*]
74. *ilu*LUGAL-ÉŠ-DUBUR⁶ -tim
75. ša i-na šu-me-ša
76. *ilu*PÀ-[GAL-GÚ-EN-NA *rabi* e-til-luina] nap-har be-lim
77. ša ina [ilāni ahē-šu šur-ba-]a⁸ e-mu-ka-šu
78. *ilu*LUGAL-DÚR-MAH mar-kas ilāni be-el dur-ma-hi⁹
79. ša ina šu-bat šarru-ú-ti šur-bu-u¹⁰
80. ina ilāni ma'-diš ši-ru¹¹
81. *ilu*A-DU-NUN-NA¹² ma-lik *ilu*Ē-a ba-an ilānī abē-šu.

¹ This title occurs in the line šar-hu *ilu*Zu-lum-mar (Var. *ma-ru*) *ka-ri-šu* *ti-it-ti-šin*, CRAIG, RT. 52, 43, which refers to a legend of Marduk's having created man from clay. Cf. *zu-lum-ma-ra*, title of Tammuz, SBP. 332, 25.

² The Commentary 55, 15 ff. has *ZU* = [*adū*] and *KIB(ul)* = [*kirbitu*?]. For *ul* = *kirbitu* see *Chicago Syllabary*, 282.

³ See VII 1.

⁴ Commentary 55 I 23 has *KU(zī)*, i.e. *zī(d)* = *kēmu*, meal = *nindabū*? For *nadin* the C. has *MU*; for *išku*, *BA*; for *ilāni*, *AN*; and for *abē-šu*, *AD*. ‘Portions’, here in the sense of ‘portions of sacrifices’. Cf. VI 140.

⁵ Mummu = Logos, creative word, was originally a title of *Ea*. For *Ea* as *mummu bān kala* see JRAS. 1918, 437, and for the conjectural restorations see C. 55 I 27–9, and cf. the Commentary 82–3–23, 151 on Pl. 54 with CT. 13, 32, R. 10. For the Babylonian theory of the Logos and its identification with Marduk see JRAS. 1918, 433–49.

67. *ilu*Zulum defining [the fields]³
68. Bestower of portions and [fixed offerings of the gods his fathers].
69. MUMMU, creator of [all things, *Mummu giver of food*].⁴
70. God that cleanseth heaven
71. Who for the *security* of
72. GIŠNUMUN-ABBA
73. Who overthrew the *evil* gods
74. *ilu*LUGAL-EŠ-DUBUR
75. Whose names in
76. *ilu*PAGALGUENNA [*great hero in*] the totality of lords.⁵
77. Whose strength has been extolled among the gods his brothers.
78. *ilu*LUGALDURMAH, leader of the gods, lord of the 'far-famed band'.
79. Who has been magnified in the abode of kingship,
80. Among the gods he is pre-eminent.
81. *ilu*ADUNUNNA, counsellor of Ea, creator of the gods his fathers,

³ Restored from K. 4210, 9 in CT. 25, 43 = II R. 59 a 49 = Ki. 1904-10-9, 14 l. 20. For the value of the last sign *DUG+BUR* see CT. 24, 6, 36; 25, 17, 37; 12, 24 b 23-4. Here begins K. 8519, KING, i 165.

⁴ Restored from K. 4210, 10.

⁵ Restored from C. 54 II 1-7, which includes a comment on *etillum* and *napharum* (of l. 76).

⁹ C. 54 II 8-13. *dur-mah*, literally *markasu širu*, a theological term in which *markasu*, 'band', means 'creative reason', divine thought which guides the world; this word often obtains the concrete meaning 'leader'. Hence *dur-mah* is really equivalent to 'divine plan'. On the philosophical import of *markasu* see JRAS. 1918, 433-49.

¹⁰ C. 54 II 14-18. A small fragment, K. 13337, in KING, *Creat.* i 166 begins here.

¹¹ C. 55 II 19-22, which read *ana ilāni*.

¹² The title occurs in the Commentary 54228, 21, KING, ii 63, where

82. ša a-na tal-lak-ti¹ ru-bu-ti-šu la u-maš-ša-lu ilu
aj-um-ma
83. [*ilu*DUMU-DÙ-KUG]² ša *ina* du-kuggi u-ta-da-šu
84. [*ina* ki-iş-şi šimāti šu-]bat-su el-lit
85. maš (?)-la ḥas-su *ilu*Lugal-dù-kug-ga
86. ša-ka-a e-mu-ka-šu
87. -šu (?)-nu kır-biš tam-tim
88. a-bi-ka³ tâhazi
89. [ša *ina* ir-bi kib-ra-a-te] şal-mat⁴ [kakķadi ib-nu-u]
90. [e-li ša-]ja-šu te-[e-mi ša üm ili u-ta-du-u]⁵
91. [*ilu*GI]EIL⁶ mu-[kin]
92. ša⁷ Ti-amat
93. uz-[na]
94. ir-[ba]ru-u-ku[.⁸]
95. [*ilu*En-bi-lu-]lu⁹

it is explained *ili-šu hanša* (?) *ilu hanša ib* . . . An incantation begins with this title, KAR. 76 Obv. 26, and it is given in K. 4210, 11. See also K. 2107, 20, ^a.A = mālik *ilu*Enlil u *ilu*Ea.

¹ C. 55 II 29-35, which has *a-lak-tu*; also 54228, 23.

² Marduk the 'Son of Du-kugga' corresponds to the title of his father ^a.Lugal-dù-kug = *ilu*Ea, KING, Magic, 12, 25. But *Lugal-dù-kug*, or 'Lord of the holy chamber', is originally ENLIL, RA. 10, 145, 1; 148 n. 1; CT. 24, 5, 37. Du-kug, 'holy chamber', is by origin a throne-room in the assembly-hall of the gods (Ubšukkina), and located in the under-world, hence Ekur at Nippur and other temples, after the pattern of the cosmos, possessed a *du-kug*, SBP. 293, 13; SBP. 248, 7; 289, 14 (at Nippur), and see VAB. iv 301 for this chamber in the temple of Marduk at Babylon. On the other hand, *dù-kug* was identified with the nether-sea (dwelling-place of Ea), CT. 18, 28, 7; 11, 29, 31, and in Book I 79-82 the Babylonian version has an account of how Ea (and Damkina) created Marduk in the *kıssi* šimāti in the *apsû*. Now *du-kug*, where the gods met in Esagila yearly to decree fates, is repeatedly called *aśar* šimāti. This title, therefore, refers to Book I 78-83. The title in l. 83 follows Adununna, K. 4210, 12. DHORME, Choix de Textes, 77 m, erroneously explained *Lugal-du-kug* as a title of Marduk.

82. The way of whose princely power no god equals.

83. *ilu*DUMU-DU-KUG, whom in the holy chamber (Ea) ordained,

84. [In the chamber of fates], his holy dwelling-place,

85. the wise Lugal-du-kugga (Ea).

86. *whose might is supreme.*

87. in the inward parts of Tiamat.

88. overthrows battle.

89. Who in the four regions created the dark-headed peoples.

90. And who for him (mankind) decreed the plan of
the 'day of the gods',

91. *ilu*GIBIL, who establishes

92. Who the of Tiamat

93. *his ears*

94. Four (?) unsearchable

95. :

³ On K. 8299 R. 2 read *a(?)-[ba-ku]*? Pl. 60, and here follows Pl. 52 II with the Commentary on l. 89.

⁴ Text from K. 12830, KING, *Creat.* i 163. For the Commentary made by the join, see PSBA. 1910, 161.

⁵ C. 52 II 4-11 + K. 8299; see PSBA. 1910, 161. The verb at the end may be *adū*, 'determine, ordain', and to be read *utaddú*, *u-ad-du-u*. The 'day of god' is a common expression for 'sacred festival'. See the references in LANDSBERGER, *Der Kultische Kalender*, p. 12, where this reference is omitted.

⁶ On the close connexion between Marduk and Gibil, the fire-god, see TALLQUIST, *Maklu*, p. 22, and note that this title follows *Dumu-dū-kug* = *mar-du-kug* = *mar apsi*, and IV R. 14, no. 2 R. 9, Gibil *mar ap-si-i*.

⁷ Commentary, Pl. 52 II 18, has *galu* = [ša]. See PSBA. 1910, 162 on ll. 92-3.

⁸ Commentary 53 II 28-34 + 57 II 3-9. Cf. Book I 95.

⁹ C. 57 II 10. For this title in Book VII see the Commentary, KING, ii 63, 14, *mu-diš mati-šu* . . . , and *na-mad šu'-u mu-šab-šu* (?) . . . See also KING, i 181, 6.

98.
 99. [*ilu* E]-zūR ša ina bit ik-ri-bi i-ra-mu-u šub-ta³
 100. *i-lu* ša ina e-ri-bi-šu kat-ra-a i-mah-ha-ru
 106. ša-a-šu⁵
 107. *ilu* NI-BI-RU kakkabu ša ina šamē šu-pu-u⁶
 108. lu-u ša-bit rēšu-arkat⁸-šu-nu ša-a-šu lu-u pal-su.
 109. ma-a ša kir-biš¹⁰ Tiamat i-tib-bi-[ru¹¹ la a-ni-hu]
 110. šum-šu lu¹² *ilu* Ni¹³-bi-ru a-hi-zu¹³ kir-bi-šu.
 111. ša kakkabāni¹⁴ ša-ma-me¹⁵ al-kat-su-nu li-kil-lu¹⁶
 112. kima¹⁷ ši-e-ni¹⁸ li-ir-ta-a¹⁸ ilāni gim-ra-šu-un¹⁹
 113. lik-me²¹ Tiamat ni-šir-ta-ša²² li-si-ik²³ u lik-ri

³ C. has traces of . . . *ru*, . . . *bu*, . . . *tu*.

² In the break which now follows before the first lines on 35506 Rev. and K. 8522 Rev. belong the fragments of the Commentary K. 4406 R. III, KING, *Creat.* ii 54-5, left edge. The numbering of the lines and extent of the break is approximately certain.

³ C. 55 III 8-14 and VAB. iv 282, 8. The line refers to the journey of Marduk on the tenth day of Nisan at the New Year's festival to the *bit akīti* outside the city of Babylon.

⁴ C. 55 III 15-18.

⁵ BM. 35506 Rev. 1 a; K. 8522 Rev. 1; traces on 91139 R. 1.

⁶ C. 52 III 1-6.

⁷ Title of Marduk as Jupiter; see Book IV 6.

⁸ All the texts have *KUN-SAG-GI*. C. 52 III 7-12.

⁹ The line refers to *Nibiru* as a constellation at or near the intersection of the celestial equator and the ecliptic, and when it rose heliacally it indicated the time of the crossing of the sun and planets from south to north of the equator or from north to south.

¹⁰ 91139, *i-na kir-bi*, and also C. 52 III 13-21.

98.
99. [*ilu*E]-ZŪR, who takes up his abode in the house of sacrifices,
100. God who in his entering therein receives presents.⁴
106.
107. 'God of the Crossing',⁵ star which in heaven is glorious.
108. Truly he holds the front and the rear; him they look for;⁶
109. Saying, 'He who bound the inward parts of Tiamat without wearying.
110. Lo, his name is god Nibiru who holds her middle part.
111. Of the stars of heaven may he uphold their courses.
112. May he shepherd the gods all of them like sheep.²⁰
113. Verily he bound Tiamat, distressed her soul and cut it off.

¹¹ For *ebir šamē* see Book IV 141 note. The Commentary has *sir* = *ebēru*, which admits no doubt concerning the meaning. The scribe of 91139 has *i-hi-[it]*, which proves that he had in mind *i-hi-šam* in IV 141, and was confused by the similarity of *ibīr* and *itibbiru*. The scribes absurdly connect *nibiru*, crossing, with *ebēru*, bind.

¹² 91139, *lu-ā*.

¹³ 35506, *Ne* and *a-hi-iz*. C. 52 III 22 has *šuššu* = *šum-šu*.

¹⁴ 91139, *kakkabu*, and C. 53, 26–30.

¹⁵ 91139, 35506, *mi*. Also K. 9267 R. 1.

¹⁶ *li-ki-il-lu*, 35506, but C. *likin* or *lukin*.

¹⁷ *ki-ma*, 91139, 35506. ¹⁸ 91139, *nu* and *li-ir-'a-a*.

¹⁹ C. 53, 31–7 seems to have *ina?* *libbi pu̯ri-šunu*.

²⁰ The line refers to the courses of the planets and their relation to the equator.

²¹ 91139, *li-ik-mi*.

²² 91139; 35506; K. 9267, *na-piš-ta-šu*. C. has *ši* = *na-[piš-tu]*.

²³ C. 53 III 42, *KIL* = *sa-[a-ku]*. On the root *sáku* see STRECK, *Assurb.* iii 581. *lisik* is II¹ prejective.

114. ah-ra-taš¹ nišē la-ba-riš ū-me²
 115. liš-ši-ma³ la uk-ta-li li-bi-il ana⁴ ša-a-ti
 116. aš-šu⁵ aš-ri⁶ ib-na-a ip-ti-ka⁷ dan-ni-na⁷
117. be-el⁸ matāti šum-šu it-ta-bi a-bi⁸ *ili* En-lil
 118. zik-ri⁹ *ilu* Igigi im-bu-u na-gab-šu-un⁹
 119. iš-me¹⁰-ma *ilu* Ē-a ka-bat-ta-šu i-te-en-gu¹⁰
 120. ma-a ša abē¹¹-šu ú-šar-ri-ḥu zik-ru-u-šu¹¹
121. šu-ú ki-ma ja-a-ti-ma *ilu* Ē-a lu-u šum-šu
 122. ri-kis par-ṣi-ja ka-li-šu-nu li-bil¹²-ma
123. gim-ri te-ri¹³-ti-ja šu-ú lit¹³-tab-bal
 124. ina zik-ri ḥanšā¹⁴ ilāni rabūti
 125. ḥanšā¹⁵ šumē¹⁵-šu im-bu-u ú-ša-ti¹⁶-ru al-kat-su

EPILOGUE¹⁷

126. li-iš-ṣab¹⁸-tu-ma mah¹⁸-ru-u li-kal-lim

¹ *ta-aš*, 91139.

² 35506, *mu*.

³ *li-is-si-e-ma*, 91139; 35506.

⁴ *a-na*, 91139.

⁵ See note on VI 64.

⁶ KING reads 91139 [*li-r*]i-ik, 'May they lengthen', i.e. carry on the tale for ever. If this reading be correct then *libil* is to be taken from *abālu*, 'May they carry it to eternity'. *lisši*, *lisšē* from *našū*?

⁷ 91139, *šum*, *ru*, *ku*, *nu*; K. 9267, *aš-ra*; 35506, *dan-ni-na*. C., Rm. 366. KING, ii 57 has *aš-ru* = *šamū*, and *danninu* = *ir-itim*. See also CT. 13, 32 R. 10, *danninu* = *ir-ṣitum*.

⁸ *ilu* EN, 91139: 35506; *bu* 91139. C. 57, 8-12.

⁹ 91139, *ina zik-ri*: 35506, *šu-nu*.

¹⁰ 91139; 35506, *me-e*; 91139, *it-ta-an-gi*. C. 57, 17-22 has *nagū*, Syn. *ḥidā*.

¹¹ 91139, *ab-bi*; 91139, 35506, *zi-kir*.

¹² 91139, *bi-il*.

¹³ 91139, *ri-e*: *li-it*. C. 58, which after the comments on l. 120 has the text *in extenso*, at the beginning of l. 123 inserts *u*.

¹⁴ 91139; 35506, *ha-an-ša-a*; C. 58, has also *50-ám*. On the misuse of the ending -am after cardinal numbers, see *Sumerian Grammar*, § 176. K. 9267 omits lines 119-24 and reads 'The Igigi named the titles all

114. In the future may the peoples when days grow old,
 115. Proclaim⁵ unceasingly, "Let him rule⁶ for ever".
 116. Since he created the places (of heaven) and
 fashioned the firm (earth),
 117. 'Lord of the Lands', father Enlil named him.
 118. All of the titles which the Igigi named,
 119. Ea heard and his spirit rejoiced,
 120. Saying, 'He whose titles his fathers have made
 glorious,
 121. Shall be even as me, "God Ea" is his name.
 122. The totality of my decrees shall he direct, yea
 all of them.
 123. All of my laws shall he carry out'.
 124. By fifty titles the great gods,
 125. As his fifty names, named (him) and they made
 his way pre-eminent.

EPILOGUE¹⁷

126. May they be held in remembrance; verily an
 ancient¹⁸ taught them.

of them, his fifty names they named, &c.' The insertion of ll. 119-24 was obviously made with reference to the incantation rituals in which Marduk acts as the messenger of Ea. Note the ingenious method of the redactors in l. 124 where Igigi in l. 118 is repeated under the guise of *ilāni rabūti*. C. 58 has *ina zi-kir*.

¹⁵ *ha-an-ša-a*, 91139; *šu-mi-e-šu*, 91139, 35506.

¹⁶ C. 58, *tc.*

¹⁷ With l. 125 the text on the Commentary, KING, ii 58, ends, and hence KING concluded that ll. 126 and following form a late addition. The contents of these lines support his view. Rm. 366 has here a curious note whose obscurity is increased by the loss of the ends of the lines. It reads, *an-nu-ú-tu ul kal-a ú [.....] ša 51 šumé [.....] ša ina lib-bi iluAsar-ri [.....]*, 'These (names) are not complete and which 51 names which from (the book) *iluAsaru* [*šārik merišti nashu?*], i.e. these names are extracted from a composition which was known under this title, and which is the first line of Book VII. If this restoration be correct it proves that Book VII is really an extract from a well-known hymn concerning the names of Marduk.

¹⁸ 91139, *:a-ab*; *ma-ah*.

¹⁹ *mahrú*, 'The first one'; whether in time 'the ancient' or in rank,

127. en-ku¹ mu-du-u mit¹-ha-riš¹ lim¹-tal-ku
128. li-ša-an-ni-ma a-bu² ma-ri² li²-ša-hi-iz
129. ša ^{amcl}re'i³ u na-ki-di³ li-pat-ta-a uz-na-šu³-un
130. li⁴-ig-gi-ma a-na ^{ilu}En-lil ilāni ^{ilu}Marduk.
131. mat-su lid-diš⁵-ša-a šu-u lu⁵ šal⁵-ma
132. ki-na-at a-mat-su la e-na-at⁶ ki-bit⁷-su
133. ši-it pi-i-šu la ut-te-pi-il⁸ ilu aī-um-ma
134. ik-ki-lim-mu⁹-ma ul u-tar-ra ki-šad⁹-su
135. ina sa-ba-si-šu uz-za-šu ul i-mah-har-šu ilu ma-
am¹¹-man
136. ru-u-ku lib¹²-ba-šu šu'-i-id¹³ kar-as-su¹⁴
137. ša an-ni u kīl-la-ti¹⁵ ma-har-šu i-[ba'-aš]¹
138. tak-lim-ti mah-ru-u id-bu-bu pa-nu-uš-šu
139. [li-iš-]tur-[ma liš-ta]-kan a-na te-[ri-ti ur-kiš]

'the most learned', remains uncertain. For *mahrū* as 'first in rank', cf. *sag* = *mahrū*, CT. 19, 42 a 25.

¹ 91139 inserts conjunction ܻ; 35506, *u*; 91139, *mi-it*; *ri-iš*; *li-im*.

² 91139 and 35506, *ma-ri-iš*, 'his son'; K. 9267, *mari*, and *lu-*; 35506, *a-ba*.

³ 91139, [*ri-e*]-*i*; *ibid.* and 35506, *du*; 91139, *uz-ni-šu*; K. 9267, *uznā*. *uznā* is obviously the subject of *lipattā*, II¹, piel of internal condition. See Book I 13 note. K. 9267 has *na-kid*.

⁴ KING sees *la ig-[gi]* on 91139, i.e. Arabic *lā!*

⁵ 91139, *li-id-[di-]ješ*; *ibid.* and K. 9267, *lu-u*; 91139, *ša-al*.

⁶ K. 9267, *-na-ta*.

⁷ 35506, *bi-it*. From line 132 onward the reference is again to Marduk.

127. May the wise and the knowing consider them together.

128. May father repeat them and teach them to son.

129. Let the ears of shepherd and pastor open themselves,

130. And may he rejoice in Enlil of the gods, even Marduk.

131. So may his land thrive and may he be prosperous.

132. His word is sure and his command is unalterable.

133. The utterance of his mouth no god annuls.

134. If he looks he turns not away his neck.¹⁰

135. In his anger no god withstands his rage.

136. Unsearchable is his heart, tried is his mind.

137. Before whom transgression and frivolity are an abomination.

138. The instruction which an ancient thought out in former times,

139. *May one write down and make accessible for instruction in future days.*

⁸ 91139 adds *ma. uttepīl*, with negative *la* should be preterite.

⁹ 35506 adds *-ū*; K. 9267, *kišad-*.

¹⁰ The line refers to Marduk's sign of favour in answer to prayer.

¹¹ K. 9267, *man-*.¹² 91139, *li-ib.*

¹³ 91139; 35506; K. 9267, *ra-pa-aš*. *šu'id* is probably III^{II} Prm of *תְּבִיא* 'repeat, recur', in Hebrew *hiphil*, 'impress upon, assure'. Here II^I *uwidu-ši*, 'he bequeathed to her, certified to her', VS. viii 3, 7; I^I Inf. *if'udu*, 'prayer, intercession'. EBELING, KAR. 105 R 6.

¹⁴ 35506, *ka-ra-aš-sa*; 91139, *ka-[]*; K. 9267, *ka-raš []*.

¹⁵ 91139, *tum.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *ba-[]*; K. 9267, *ba'-a-[]*. The restoration was made by JENSEN.

140. *at il^u*Marduk lu-ú ilāni
141. -mat-tu-ú šu-um
142. il-ku-ú ma
. .¹

¹ KING believes that this is the last line on the tablet. At any rate the line numbered 80 above cannot be much in error, and it is the last on the Obverse on K. 8519, but naturally the contents of the Reverse may not have occupied all the space, and a long colophon may have followed. On K. 13761 the last line on the Obverse is 66 above, which

140. of Marduk verily the gods
141.
142.
143.

proves that it could have contained not more than 130 lines; but it may belong to K. 9267, which omits six lines. Tablet I, the longest in the epic, has 161 lines. DR. KING's estimate of 143 lines for Tab. VII must be nearly accurate.

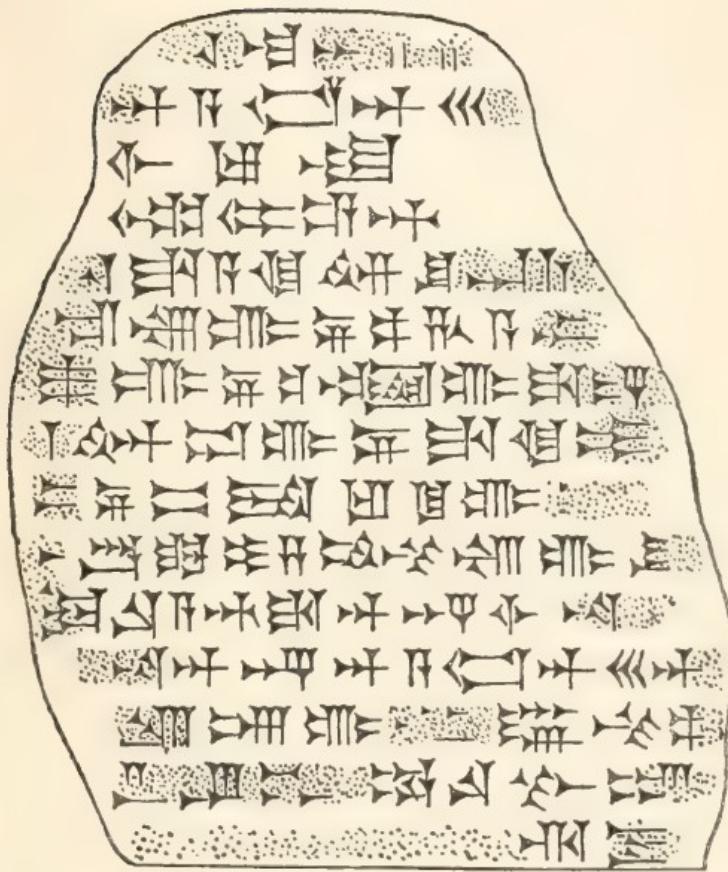
Obverse



Reverse



Obverse



K. 9138

ADDENDA

I

In vol. viii of EBELING's *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, which reached me after this book was in print, a number of tablets referred to as unpublished on p. 62, are given.

VAT. 9873 = KAR. viii 314.

VAT. 10152 is restored by 12951 + 10392 under KAR. viii 313.

VAT. 10346 = KAR. viii 317.

VAT. 10659 = KAR. viii 316.

VAT. 10898 = KAR. viii 318.

VAT. 10997 = KAR. viii 315.

KAR. 162 II 4 = Tablet I 55 has not *an-nu-u*, but *iluMu-um-mu*, which is an error of dittography from line 53.

Line 58. KAR. 313 has *ku-la* rightly.

Line 59. *šu-tür* is correct.

Line 64. KAR. 313, *ir-ti-hi-šu*.

Line 69. KAR. 313, *ik-mi-šu-ma*.

Line 70. KAR. 313, *iluMu-um-ma e-ta-sir*.

Tablet I 92 at end, read, after KAR. 314, 10, *mim-mu-šu*, 'he surpassed them in every way'.

Line 94. KAR. 314, *a-ma-ri-eš*.

Tablet I 53. KAR. 315, 4, *iluMu-um-ma*.

KAR. 315 omits lines 61-2.

Line 34. KAR. 317, *ilānu(nu)*.

Line 39. KAR. 317, *lu-sa-ap-pi-iḥ*.

Line 41. KAR. 317, *in* for *ina*.

Lines 108-17 are partially preserved on KAR. 317, Reverse.

Line 109. KAR. 317 Rev. 3, read *da-ri-iš* and correct p. 82 n. 9.

Line 110. KAR. 317, *li-mut-ta*.

Line 113. KAR. 317, *ka-liš tuš-bi*.

KAR. 317 Rev. 9, *mu-uk-ki*, read *šu-uk-ki*, and see l. 123.

KAR. 316 = VAT. 10659 is a new duplicate of Tab. IV 18-26.

Line 19, *uš-ziz-zu-ma*.

Line 23, *ip-šu*.

Line 24, *tu-ri* (sic!).

Line 26, *i-tur*.

II

New light on the myth of the Death and Resurrection of Bél-Marduk has come to hand after this volume was in print. In the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. XIX, 175–185, M. THUREAU-DANGIN has published a remarkable hymn concerning the god Lillu, 'La Passion du Dieu Lillu'. Here the god *Lillu*, which means the 'feeble one', or the fool, imbecile, cripple, is described as one imprisoned in the lower-world, and his sister Egi-me (queen of lamentation) and his mother Gašanhar-sagga lament for him, precisely as in the more familiar cult of Tammuz the sister and mother of Tammuz laments for Tammuz.¹ Lillu and his sister in the new text conduct a dialogue in the same manner as Tammuz and his sister-mother Ishtar. He beseeches her to release him from his bondage² in the infernal regions and to prepare for him a funeral feast in the land of the living. Now it is remarkable that *Lillu*, who in SBP. 222, 9 is undoubtedly a name for the older *Bél* or the earth-god Enlil of Nippur, is also transformed into a type of Tammuz in the cult of the earth-mother at Adab in this new text. See also SBP. 24 Rev. 3: *d.Aruru ama dumu d.Lil-ra-ge*, 'Aruru mother of the child Lil'. Here Adab and its temple are mentioned, as in the Louvre hymn. Aruru is only another name of the earth goddess Ninhsagga or Gašanharsagga, for whom the Sumerians had many other titles, especially Nintud or Nintur, Ninkarrak, Gula, Bau, Nimmag, and Dingir-mag. In the WELD-BLUNDELL dynastic prism of the Ashmolean Museum (W.B. 444) the father of Gilgamish is named. He is there called *Lil-lá*. Now in this list of the kings of the first dynasty of Erech, the deified man Tammuz³ is the fourth king of Erech and his successor was Gilgamish. If *Lilla* means here simply 'the

¹ See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 18 ff.; 42 ff. et passim.

² *silag̃, simlağ̃* in RA, 19, 179, 18–19; 180, 25–6 is probably identical with *si-lam*, dialectic for *silag̃, silağ̃* = *limitu*, BL., No. 8, Rev. 5.

³ The god Tammuz I take to be in reality a deified prehistoric king who was identified with the old dying god *Abu, Damu*. See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, pp. 26, 40, 64. The dynastic tablets published since that book was written (1914) show that SIR JAMES FRAZER was partially right when he saw in the cult of the dying god an association with living kings. I do not believe, however, with him that the cult of Tammuz in Sumer arose out of the practice of slaying a king as a sacrifice to the divine powers of nature. This cult of a dying god in Sumer was much older than 'Dumu-zi (Tammuz) the fisherman' who became king of Erech. For some reason the Sumerians chose him as the prehistoric king to typify the relation between man and nature, a relation which they always particularly attributed to kings from the earliest times as chief representative of the society. The Sumerians and Babylonians undoubtedly attributed peculiar divine relationship to kings. They were supposed to be sons of the earth goddess and consequently an identification of them with the dying god, son of the same goddess, was inevitable.

feeble one' it is only a title of Tammuz father and predecessor of Gilgamish.

A book of a mother goddess liturgy, which I published in *Babylonian Liturgies*, No. 8, mentions Gilgamish as a dying god and a type of Tammuz. It goes on to say: *u-mu-zि-da me-ir-si si-lam-ta = Umuzida ina límit gírsé*, that is, 'The faithful lord in the bonds of imprisonment', and it speaks of the brothers of Tammuz. Umuzida is only another title of Tammuz and this text clearly reveals the fact that the frail young god, who died yearly with the summer flowers, was supposed to have been bound in the lower world, and that other deities suffered the same fate, or were associated with the same cult. Other texts prove that at the yearly lamentations for the dying god in the hot month *Tammuz*, this god was believed to suffer imprisonment in the lower world.¹

Another *Bél* or local form of the earth-god was made the subject of the same myth; he was Ningirsu or Egigirsu, god of the ancient city Lagish. The word *girsu* or *mirsu* in Sumerian means *nakmá*, bondage, and *é-gir-su* is explained in syllabars by *bit nakmí*, *bit d. Líl-li*, *bit d. Ningirsu* and *mersú* (loan-word). See AJSL. 33, 197, 260; CT. 12, 22, B.M., 36991 Rev. 10-13. That is, 'house of bondage', 'house of the god Líllu', 'house of the god Ningirsu', or 'bondage'. The god Damu (older name of the dying god) is called *umun gir-su-a*, 'lord of imprisonment', PBS. X 306, 28; SBP. 160, 14 (*umun me-ir-si*), KL. 8 Rev. II 6. A lament to the god Tammuz has *me-ir-si id Zimbir(ki)-ge = ina gírsé ña ah Puratti*, 'By bondage, on the shore of the Euphrates (why hast thou destroyed him from me)?' So speaks his mother Ishtar to the demon of the nether-world, who had bound and taken away the young god.² This ancient earth-god at Lagash was, therefore, another form of the *Bél* who died and was bound for a time in the vast tomb of nether darkness. His name actually means 'Lord of bondage'.

These nature gods whose strength failed them and who perished for a time seem to have been more numerous than we have supposed. They all seem to have been named 'the cripple or feeble one'. Tammuz was identified with the constellation Orion under the title *mul Sib-zí-an-na*, 'the faithful shepherd of heaven', and, in fact, the Hebrew name for Orion is בָּשִׁיל, which probably means 'the fool'. As a constellation he was supposed to have been a god chained to the stars, and the entire myth, together with its details, seems to be reflected both in the Hebrew name and in the passage of Job 38, 31, 'Dost thou fasten the bands of

¹ See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 13 n. 2, and the Berlin Astrolabe, WEIDNER, H. B. 85: *araḥ re'u d. Dumu-si ikkamá*, 'Month when the shepherd Tammuz is bound.'

² BL. 96, 3.

the Pleiades (?), or loosen the cords of Orion?' See the comment on Job 9, 9 in DRIVER and GRAY's *Job*, p. 86. The same myth was known to the Greeks. [A new prism, unpublished, proves that the Kēš Liturgy, PBS. X 311-23, belongs really to cult of the dying god.]

All this new information is important in forming a correct judgement concerning the similar myth of the imprisonment and release of Marduk-Bēl, edited on pages 34-49. It is clearly a form of the Tammuz cult. The persistent epithet of 'the fool' or 'the cripple' applied to the 'bound god' has obviously a bearing upon the Sacaea festival discussed on pages 57-59. The word may be connected with *sakku*, 'dumb, stupid', and the bogus king, Sōganēs, may represent the 'fool-god'.

III

The root *eʃelu*, 'to be possessed of a strong fair body', MR. G. R. DRIVER connects with the Arabic root 'aʃila, *magno corpore praeditus fuit*, 'aʃilun, *pelchro corpore praeditus*. See p. 76, 66 and 80, 88.

For ſu-ut *tamhari*, 90, 150, DRIVER suggests ſu-ud, and supposes a noun ſādu, 'leadership', from the Arabic ٌذَا 'to be a leader', ſādūn, leadership. This well-known Arabic root is to be expected in Babylonian but it cannot be established at present. (Doubtful.)

The phrase *sekar-ka ilu Anum*, 126, 4. 6, DRIVER compares with a similar example of *comparatio compendaria* in Hebrew. In Ps. 45. 7 בְּסִאֵךְ אֱלֹהִים 'thy throne is god', which is exactly parallel to 'thy command is Anu' in this epic. This proves that the Hebrew text is correct and that no emendation is required. MR. DRIVER refers to the intuitive discussion of this phrase by his father, PROFESSOR S. R. DRIVER, in *Hebrew Tenses*, § 194 (Observation).

mu-al-li-da-at, or var. *mummallidat* (II¹ fem. part of *yalādu*), 66, 4, 'the woman who bears', 'the bearer', is the original of the Greek name of Ishtar, Μύλιττα, *Mylitta*, as ZIMMERN has already discovered, *Keilschriften und das Alte Testament*³, 423 n. 7. MR. DRIVER with JENSEN compares the Greek goddess Εἰλείθυια (Ilithyia), who aided women in childbirth. [The Arabian name for the same goddess 'Αλιλάτ, Herodotus I 132; III 8, is undoubtedly taken from the epithet of the Babylonian goddess of childbirth, *ālidat*, 'she that bears', by textual corruption. Cf. the title of Gula (= Nintud), the goddess of childbirth, *ummu a-li-da-at salmat kakkadi*, 'Mother who gives birth to the dark-headed people', IV R. 54 b 27. 'The *casus rectus* is *alittu*, a common word for "child-bearing woman".]

MR. DRIVER makes a comment upon the verb *yaʃū*, which is surely

correct and solves the difficulties hitherto connected with this verb. The verb has two different senses in Babylonian, (1) to come into being, become visible, and (2) to be beautiful, glorious, to excel. Root (1) DRIVER connects with Arabic *uafa'un*, full-grown, adult, and *zafa'a*, he grew up, *zafa'un*, adult, and Hebrew *yən*, in *hiph'il*, to shine forth, or cause to shine forth. Root (2) he connects with Arabic *وَفَى*, to be complete, in *aph'el* (IV), 'he overtopped', *eminuit*. The connexion of this South Semitic root (Arabic, Ethiopic, Sabean), which is also Syriac, with Hebrew *נָבַע*, to be beautiful, is denied by BARTH. See Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch*, *sub voce*.

For root (1), *uafa'a*, see 66, 7, *la šu-pu-u*, 'they had not been brought into being', and for root (2), *uafaja*, III² *iš(uš)tappū*, they glorified, 70, 22.

For the I¹ form of root (1), see BOISSIER, *Choix* II 59, 15: *ekil šuatu i-ua-pí-i*, 'that field will attain unto full growth', field being used by metonymy for its produce. For I¹ of root (2), cf. *i-na i-tr-ti-šu nu-pi-e-ma*, against him we have triumphed (?), *Yale Oriental Series* II 93, 18. See also for III¹, Imp. *šuppi*, make thyself beautiful, JRAS. 1921, 186, 19; III² *uš-la-pa-a*, he is brilliant, THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels*, 67, 17. In the sense of glorify III¹, *lišápū zikri-ka*, RA. 8, 43, 9.

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satāhu, be high, secondary form of *šāhu*, 80, 100.
šēlu, to be sharp, 139 n. 16.
šer'itu, a garment, 49, 32; 44, 53.
šigaru, lock-rail, 156, 10.
šikkatu, victory. *šikkatuš*, 180, 100.
šimu, fate, 188, 143.
šina, two. With *zāzu*, to divide into two parts, 166 n. 6.
šu, demonstrative, Fem. *ši-i*, in abstract sense, 126, 8.
šu'āru, singing, 70, 24.
šukuttu, 190, 8.
šurišam, 144, 124.
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- šut*, emphatic demonstrative of šu, 90, 150; 98, 37; 114, 41; 120, 99. Relative pronoun, 89 n. 13; 96, 33; 114, 37; 120, 95. In accusative, 142, 115. Genitive particle, 166, 10.
- ṭālu*, *dālu*, to hasten, 136 n. 1.
ṭubkātu = *ṭubkinu*, cavern, 142 n. 7.
ṭubkittu, cavern, 76, 64.
tamū, to swear. With *itti atama itti-ja*, 168, 16.
takbitu, command, 184, 120.
tarū, to nurse. I², *ittarru-šu*, 78, 86.
tarbātu, for *tabrātu*, 174, 49.
tarītu, nurse, 78, 86.
ta'lū, fang, 118, 83 n. 30.
telū, skill, 74, 59.
ṭū, curse, 136, 71; 138, 91; 76, 62; 90, 152; 98, 39; 106, 117; 114, 43; 122, 101; 196, 33.
- ugallu*, great lion, Leo, 88, 141; 96, 28; 112, 32; 120, 90. See p. 10.
ukkanu, assembly, 96, 18; 112, 22; 118, 80.
ūmu, spirit of wrath. *ūmi daprāti*, 88, 142; 96, 29; 112, 33; 120, 91; *ūmu*, day; *ūm ili*, feast day, 202, 90.
uridimmu, hound, Lopus, 88, 141; 96, 28; 112, 32; 120, 90. See p. 10.
urā, store-house, 180, 102.
urugallu, high-priest, 40, 36; Rm. 275, 5.
uṣurtu, plan, curse, 76, 61; sign, 152 n. 3; 154, 5.
ušumgallu, 120, 85; 86, 136; 96, 23; 112, 27.
uadū, to be lawful. *la udū-ni*, 48, 71. II¹, to determine, *u-ad-du-u*, 78, 76; 130, 35; 152, 3; 158, 13; 170, 30; 192, 17. Inf. *uddu*, 154, 6; 158, 13; 160, 16. *li-ad-di*, 180, 91; *muaddu*, 190, 7; 200, 67. I², *ittaddū*, 184, 122. II², *utuda-šu*, 202, 83.

uakā, to wait for. II², *la uttakka-*
šu, 106, 119.

uapū, to be conspicuous. III²,
ušlappu, 70, 22; *ušlapu*, 68, 10.
See p. 218.

uarādu, to descend. *tadara(d)*! 38,
29; III², *ussiriduniššu*, 36, 14.

uáru, *uñ'áru*, *ma'áru*, to send. II¹,
Prs. *u-a-ar*, 166, 13; Prt. *uma'íru*,
170, 32.

uašāru, to set free. Prs. *ušaru-*
šuni, 46, 65.

uašāru, to be lustful, fall upon,
80 n. 2. Also *iašāru*, Prt. *išir*,
118, 70.

ualāru, to repeat itself, helping verb,
107 n. 33; 116, 60; 122, 118.

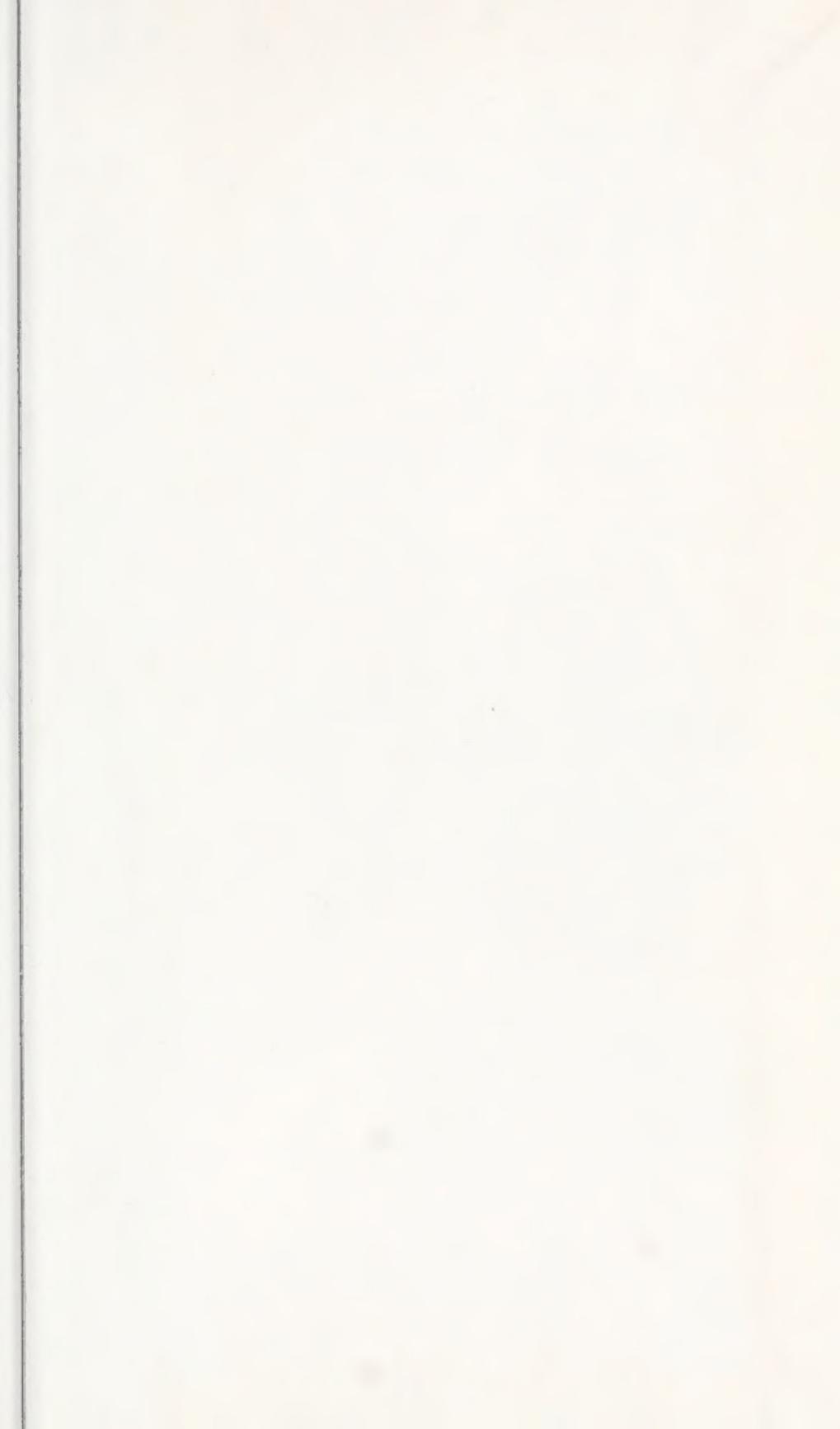
zarū, begetter, 66, 3; 72, 29.

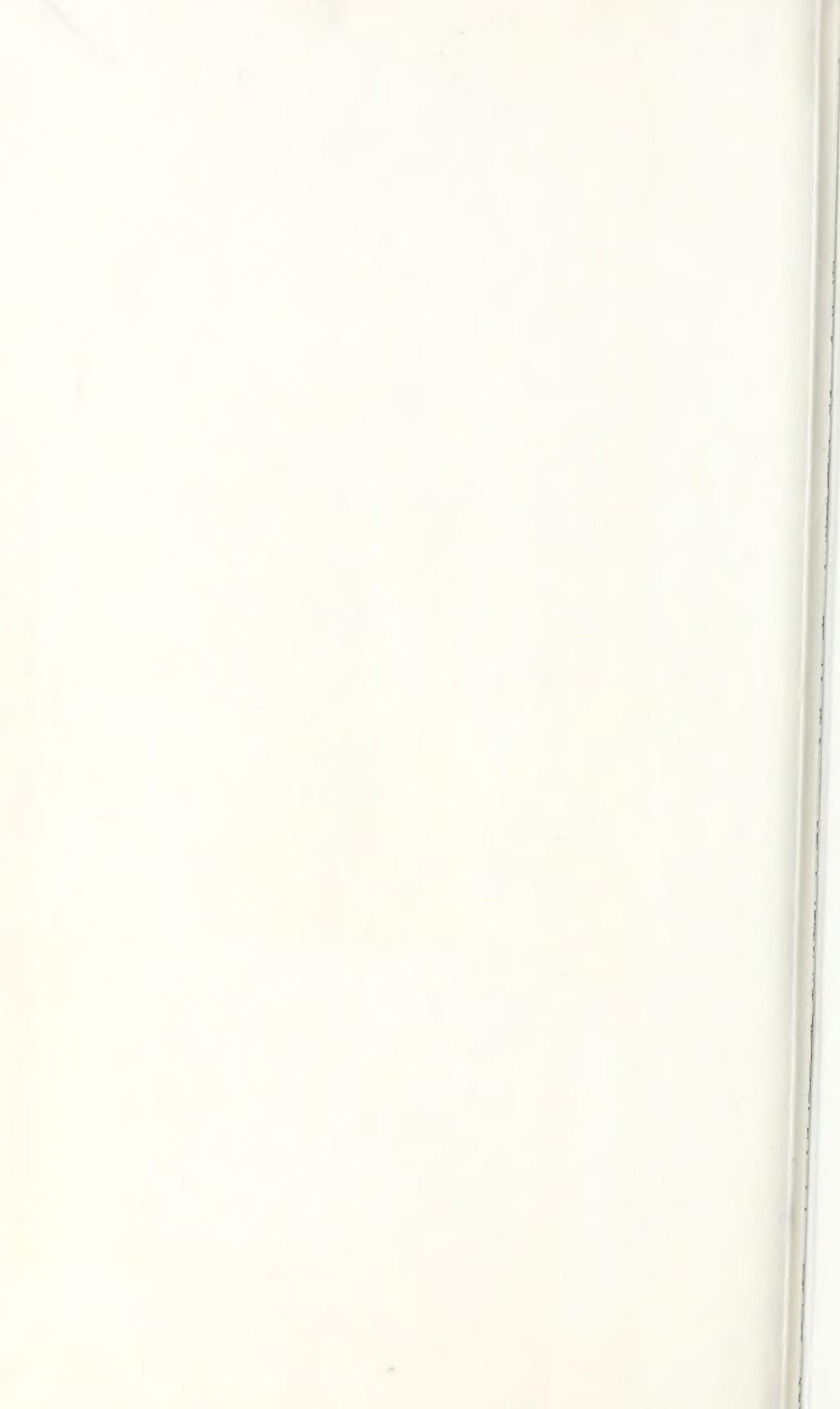
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